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ART. V.—*Contributions to a Knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology.* By J. Muir, D.C.L., LL.D.

[Read 18th January, 1864.]

IN the fourth volume of my Sanskrit Texts I have collected the principal passages of the Vedic Hymns which refer to the origin of the universe, and to the characters of the gods Hiranyagarbha, Viṣvakarman, Viṣṇu, Rudra, and the goddess Ambikâ; and have compared the representations there given of these deities with the later stories and speculations on the same subjects which are to be found in the Brâhmaṇas, and in the mythological poems of a more modern date. In the course of these researches, I have also introduced occasional notices of some of the other Vedic deities, such as Aditi, Indra, Varuṇa, etc.

In the present and some following papers, I propose to give a further account of the cosmogony, mythology, and religious ideas of the Rig Veda,¹ and to compare these occasionally with the corresponding conceptions of the early Greeks.

To a simple mind reflecting, in the early ages of the world, on the origin of all things, various solutions of the mystery might naturally present themselves. Sometimes the production of the existing universe would be ascribed to physical, and at other times to spiritual, powers. On the one hand, the various changes which are constantly in progress

¹ This subject has been already treated by Professor Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian races," in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 67 ff.; by the same writer, and by Professor Whitney in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 291 ff., and 331 ff.; by Professor Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vii. 607 ff.; by Professor Max Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, and in his History of Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 531 ff.; by Professor Wilson in the Prefaces to the three vols. of his translation of the Rig Veda; by M. Langlois in his notes to his French translation of the Rig Veda; by Professor Weber, and by Drs. Kuhn and Bühler, etc. etc.

in all the departments of nature might have suggested the notion of the world having gradually arisen out of nothing, or out of a pre-existing chaos. Such an idea of the spontaneous evolution of all things out of a primeval principle, or out of undeveloped matter, called Prakṛti, became at a later period the foundation of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. Again, the mode in which, in the early morning, light emerges slowly out of darkness, and objects previously undistinguishable assume by degrees a distinct form and colour, might easily have led to the conception of night being the origin of all things. And, in fact, this idea of the universe having sprung out of darkness and chaos is the doctrine of one of the later hymns of the R. V. (x. 129). On the other hand, our daily experience leads to the conclusion that every thing which exists must have had a maker, and the great majority of men are impelled by a natural instinct to create other beings after their own image, but endowed with superior powers, to whose conscious agency, rather than to the working of a blind necessity, they are disposed to ascribe the production of the world. In this stage of thought, however, before the mind had risen to the conception of one supreme creator and governor of all things, the different departments of nature were apportioned between different gods, each of whom was imagined to preside over his own especial domain. But these domains were imperfectly defined; one was confused with another, and might thus be subject, in part, to the rule of more than one deity; or, according to the diverse relations or aspects in which they were regarded, these several provinces of the creation might be subdivided among distinct divinities, or varying forms of the same divinity. These remarks might be illustrated by numerous instances drawn from the Vedic mythology. In considering the literary productions of this same period, we further find that as yet the difference between mind and matter was but imperfectly conceived, and that, although, in some cases, the distinction between any particular province of nature and the deity who was supposed to preside over it was clearly discerned, yet in other cases the two things were confounded, and the same visible object was

at different times regarded in different lights, as being either a portion of the inanimate universe, or an animated being. Thus, in the Vedic hymns, the sun, the sky, and the earth, are looked upon sometimes as natural objects governed by particular gods, and sometimes as themselves gods who generate and control other beings.

The varieties and discrepancies which are in this way incident to all nature-worship, are, in the case of the Vedic mythology, augmented by the number of the poets by whom it was created, and the length of time during which it continued in process of formation.

The Rig Veda consists of more than a thousand hymns, composed by successive generations of poets during a period of many centuries. In these songs the authors gave expression not only to the notions of the supernatural world which they had inherited from their ancestors, but also to their own new conceptions. In that early age the imaginations of men were peculiarly open to impressions from without; and in a country like India, where the phenomena of nature are often of the most striking description, such spectators could not fail to be overpowered by their influence. The creative faculties of the poets were thus stimulated to the highest pitch. They saw everywhere the presence and agency of divine powers. Day and night, heaven and earth, rain, sunshine, all the parts of space, and all the elements, were severally governed by their own deities, whose characters corresponded with those of the physical operations or appearances which they represented. In the hymns composed under the influence of any grand phenomena, the authors would naturally ascribe a peculiar or exclusive importance to the deities by whose action these appeared to have been produced. Other poets might attribute the same natural appearances to the agency of other deities, whose greatness they would in consequence extol; while others again would adopt in preference the service of some other god whose working they seemed to witness in some other domain. In this way, while the same traditional divinities were acknowledged by all, the power, dignity, and functions

of each particular god might be differently estimated by different poets, or perhaps by the same poet, according to the external influences by which he was inspired on each occasion. And it might even happen that some deity who had formerly remained obscure, would, by the genius of a new poet devoted to his worship, be brought out into greater prominence. In such circumstances it need not surprise us if we find one particular power or deity in one place put above, and in another place subordinated to, some other god; sometimes regarded as the creator, and sometimes as the created. This is illustrated in the case of the first Vedic divinities to which I shall refer, viz., Heaven and Earth.

I. DYĀUS AND PṚTHIVĪ.

In addition to numerous detached verses in which Heaven and Earth (Dyaus and Pṛthivī) are introduced among other divinities, are invited to attend religious rites, and supplicated for different blessings, there are several hymns (such as i. 159; i. 160; i. 185; iv. 56; vi. 70; and vii. 53,) which are specially devoted to their honour. As a specimen of the way in which they are addressed, I subjoin a translation (very imperfect, I fear,) of the 159th and part of the 160th hymn of the first book:—

i. 159 (1). “At the sacrifices I worship with offerings Heaven and Earth, the promoters of righteousness, the great, the wise, the energetic, who, having gods for their offspring, thus lavish, with the gods, the choicest blessings, in consequence of our hymn.

(2). “With my invocations I celebrate the thought of the beneficent Father, and that mighty sovereign power of the Mother. The prolific Parents have made all creatures, and through their favours (have conferred) wide immortality on their offspring.

(3). “These skilful energetic sons (the gods?) destined the great Parents for the first adoration. Through the support both of the stationary and moving world, ye two preserve fixed the position of your unswerving son (the sun?).

(4). "These wise and skilful beings (the gods?) have created (?) the kindred twins sprung from the same womb, and occupying the same abode. The brilliant sages stretch in the sky and in the atmosphere an ever-renewed web.

(5). "That desirable wealth we to-day ask through the energy of the divine Savitr: confer on us, O Heaven and Earth, through your good will, wealth with goods, and hundreds of cows."

i. 160 (1). "The brilliant god, the sun, by a fixed ordinance, moves between these two,—the Heaven and Earth,—which are auspicious to all, regular sustainers of the sage (the sun?) of the firmament, well-born, the two hemispheres.

(2). "Widely expanded, vast, unwearied, the Father and the Mother preserve all creatures. The two worlds are defiant, and, as it were, embodied, when the Father invested them with forms.

* * * * *

(4). "He was the most skilful of the skilful gods who produced these two worlds which are auspicious to all, who, desiring to create an excellent work, meted out these regions and sustained them by undecaying supports.

(5). "Being lauded, may the mighty Heaven and Earth bestow on us great renown and power," etc.

In the hymns Heaven and Earth are characterized by a profusion of epithets, not only such as are suggested by their various physical characteristics, as vastness, breadth, profundity, productiveness (i. 160, 2; i. 185, 7; iv. 56, 3; vi. 70, 1, 2); but also by such as are of a moral or spiritual nature, as innocuous or beneficent, promoters of righteousness, omniscient (i. 159, 1 f.; i. 160, 1; iv. 56, 2; vi. 70, 6). The two together are styled parents, *pitarâ* (as in i. 159, 2; iii. 3, 11; vii. 53, 2; x. 65, 8), or *mâtarâ* (as in ix. 85, 12; x. 1, 7; x. 35, 3;¹ x. 64, 14). In other passages the Heaven is separately styled father, and the Earth mother² (as in R.V.

¹ Here they are supplicated to preserve the worshipper sinless. In R.V. vi. 17, 7, they are called *mâtarâ yāhuṛi ṛtasya*, "the great parents of sacrifice."

² The appellation of mother is naturally applied to the earth, as the source from which all vegetable products spring, as well as the home of all living crea-

i. 89, 4; i. 90, 7; i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 11; v. 42, 16; vi. 51, 5;¹ vi. 70, 6; vi. 72, 2). But they are regarded as the parents not only of men, but of the gods also, as appears from the various texts where they are designated by the epithet *devaputre*, "having gods for their children" (viz., in i. 106, 3; i. 159, 1; i. 185, 4;² iv. 56, 2; vi. 17, 7; vii. 53, 1; x. 11, 9). In like manner it is said (in vii. 97, 8) that "the divine Heaven and Earth, the parents of the god, have augmented Bṛhaspati by their power;"³ (in viii. 50, 2) that they "have fashioned the self-resplendent and prolific (Indra) for energy;" and (in x. 2, 7) they are described as having, in conjunction with the waters, and with Tvashṭr, begotten Agni. And in various passages they are said to

tures. This is remarked by Lucretius, "De Rerum Natura," in these lines, V. 793 ff. :—

"Nam neque de caelo cecidisse animalia possunt,
Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis :
Linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta
Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata," etc.

And again, V. 821 :—

"Quare etiam atque etiam maternum nomen adepta
Terra tenet merito, quoniam genus ipsa creavit
Humanum atque animal prope certo tempore fudit," etc.

And, in illustration of the idea that the Heaven is the father of all things, I may quote his words, ii. 991 :—

"Denique celesti sumus omnes semine oriundi :
Omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis
Umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit,
Feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque lacta
Et genus humanum," etc.

And ii. 998 :—

"Qua propter merito maternum nomen adepta est.
Cedit item retro de terra quod fuit ante,
In terras, et quod missum est ex aetheris oris
Id rursus caeli rellatum templa receptant."

See also V. 799 :—

"Quo minus est mirum, si tum sunt plura coorta
Et majora, novâ tellure atque æthere adulta," etc.

My attention was drawn to these passages by finding them referred to in Professor Sellar's "Roman Poets of the Republic," pp. 236, 247, and 276. On the same subject a recent French writer remarks: "Cent mythologies sont fondées sur le mariage du ciel et de la terre."—"Essais de Critique Religieuse," par Albert Réville, p. 383. The Greek poets also, as Hesiod (Opp. 561), Æschylus (Prom. 90; Septem contra Thebas, 16), Euripides (Hippol. 601) speak in like manner of the earth being the universal mother.

¹ The words of the original here are, *Dyaush pitāh Iṭhīrī Mātār adhrug Agne bhṛātār Vasavo mṛtātā naḥ*, "Father Heaven, innoxious mother Earth, brother Agni, Vasus, be gracious to us."

² In verse 6 of this hymn they are called *janitṛī*, "the parents."

³ In iii. 53, 7, and iv. 2, 16, the Angirasas are said to be *dīvasputrāḥ*, sons of Dyaus.

have made and to sustain all creatures (as in i. 159, 2; i. 160, 2; i. 185, 1), and even to support "the mighty gods" (iii. 54, 8).¹

On the other hand, heaven and earth are spoken of in other places as themselves created. Thus it is said (i. 160, 4; iv. 56, 3), that he who produced heaven and earth must have been the most skilful artizan of all the gods.² Again, Indra is described as their creator (viii. 36, 4); as having formed (?) them (x. 29, 6); as having generated from his own body the father and the mother (by which heaven and earth appear to be intended, x. 54, 3); as having bestowed them on his worshippers (iii. 34, 8); as sustaining and upholding them (iii. 32, 8; vi. 17, 7; x. 55, 1); as grasping them in his hand (iii. 30, 5); as stretching them out like a hide (viii. 6, 5). The same deity is elsewhere (vi. 30, 1) said to transcend heaven and earth, which are equal to only a half of the god;³ and they are further represented as submitting to his power (vi. 18, 15); as following him as a chariot wheel a horse (viii. 6, 38); as bowing down before him (i. 131, 1);⁴ as trembling from fear of him (iv. 17, 2;⁵ vi. 17, 9; viii. 86, 14); as being disturbed by his greatness (vii. 23, 3); as subject to his dominion (x. 89, 10). The creation of heaven and earth is also ascribed to other deities, as to Soma and

¹ In one place (vi. 50, 7), the waters are spoken of as mothers (*janitri*) of all things moveable and immoveable. Compare the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in my former article in this Journal, vol. xx, pp. 38 f.

² This phrase is, perhaps, primarily meant as an eulogy of the heaven and earth, by expressing that he must have been a most glorious being who was the author of so glorious a production as heaven and earth (see Sāyana on R.V., i. 160, 4, who says, "that having in the previous verse magnified the heaven and earth by lauding their son the sun, the poet now magnifies them by exalting their maker.") But it also appears to intimate that, in the idea of the writer, the heaven and earth were, after all, produced by some greater being. In iv. 17, 4, it is similarly said that "the maker of Indra was a most skilful artist."

³ In viii. 59, 5, it is said: "If, Indra, a hundred heavens and a hundred earths were thine, a thousand suns could not equal thee, thunderer, nor both worlds thy nature."

⁴ Heaven (*Dyaus*) is here styled *asurah*, "the divine," as also in iii. 53, 7.

⁵ It might at first sight appear as if, according to the fourth verse of this hymn (iv. 17, 4), the Heaven, *Dyaus*, was the father of Indra (see Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 151). But the meaning seems to be: "The Heaven esteemed that thy father was the parent of a heroic son: he was a most skilful artist who made Indra, who produced the celestial thunderer, unshaken, as the world (cannot be shaken) from its place." This is confirmed by verse 1, which says that the Heaven acknowledged Indra's power; and by verse 2, which represents it as trembling at his birth.

Pûshan (ii. 40, 1); to Soma (ix. 90, 1; ix. 98, 9);¹ to Dhâtr (x. 190, 3); to Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 9); they are declared to have received their shape from Tvashtṛ, though themselves parents (x. 110, 9); to have sprung respectively from the head and the feet of Purusha (x. 90, 14); and to be sustained or supported by Mitra (iii. 59, 1), by Savitr (iv. 53, 2; x. 149, 1), by Varuṇa (vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; viii. 42, 1), by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2), by Soma (ix. 87, 2), by Agni (? x. 31, 8), and by Hiranyagarbha (x. 121, 5). In other passages we encounter various speculations about their origin. In i. 185, 1, the perplexed poet asks, "Which of these two was the first,² and which the last? How have they been produced? Sages, who knows?" In vii. 34, 2, the waters are said to know the birthplace of heaven and earth. In x. 31, 7, the Rishi asks: "What was the forest, what was the tree, from which they fashioned the heaven and the earth, which abide undecaying and perpetual, (whilst) the days and former dawns have disappeared?" This question is repeated in x. 81, 4;³ and in the same hymn (verses 2 and 3) the creation of heaven and earth is ascribed to the sole agency of the god Viṣvakarman.⁴ In x. 72, which will be referred to further on, a different account is given of the origin of heaven and earth. In R.V. x. 129, 1, it is said that originally there was "nothing either non-existent or existent, no atmosphere or sky beyond;" and in Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 2, 1 ff., it is declared, that "formerly nothing existed, neither heaven, nor atmosphere, nor earth," and their formation is described: "That, being non-existent, thought (*mano 'kuruta*), 'Let me become,' " etc.

It is a conception of the Greek, as well as of the oldest Indian, mythology, that the gods were sprung from Heaven and Earth (Ouranos and Gaia). According to Hesiod (Theog. 116 ff.), Chaos first came into existence; then arose "the

¹ The two worlds, *rodasi*, are here styled *devī*, "divine," and *mānavī*, "descended from Manu."

² Sp. Br., xiv. 1, 2, 10, *Iyam pṛthivi bhûtasya prathama-jâ*: "This earth is the firstborn of created things."

³ See also the Taitt. Br., vol. ii., p. 360, where the answer is given, "Brahma was the forest, Brahma was that tree."

⁴ See Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv., pp. 4 ff.

broad-bosomed Earth, the firm abode of all things." Heaven and Earth were not, however, according to Hesiod, coeval beings; for "the Earth produced the starry Heaven coextensive with herself, to envelope her on every part." From these two sprang Oceanos, Kronos, the Cyclopes, Rheia, and numerous other children (vv. 132 ff.). From Kronos and Rheia again were produced Zeus, Poseidon, Hère, and other deities (vv. 453 ff.¹). The Indian god who is represented in the Veda as the consort of the Earth and the progenitor of the gods, does not, however, as we have seen, bear the same name as the corresponding divinity among the Greeks, but is called *Dyaus*, or *Dyaush pitar*. But this latter name is in its origin identical with Zeus, or Zeus pater, and Jupiter, or Diespiter, the appellations given to the supreme god of the Greeks and Romans, whom Hesiod represents as the grandson of Ouranos. On the other hand, the name of Ouranos corresponds to that of the Indian deity Varuṇa, who, though he is not considered as the progenitor of the gods, yet coincides with Ouranos in representing the sky.

II. THE INDIAN GODS GENERALLY, AS REPRESENTED IN THE RIG VEDA.

While the gods are in some passages of the Rig Veda represented as the offspring of Heaven and Earth, they are in other places, as we have already seen, characterized as independent of those two divinities, and even as their creators. Before proceeding to offer some description of the powers, functions, characters, history, and mutual relations of these deities, I shall give some account of the general conceptions entertained by the Vedic poets and some later Indian writers, regarding their origin, duration, numbers, and classes.

The following classification of the Vedic gods is adduced by Yâska in his Nirukta, (vii. 5) as being that given by the ancient expositors who preceded him: "There are three deities according to the expounders of the Veda (*Nairuktâh*), viz., Agni, whose place is on the earth; Vâyû, or Indra, whose place is in the atmosphere; and Sûrya (the sun),

¹ Comp. Homer Il. xv. 187 ff.

whose place is in the sky.¹ These deities receive severally many appellations, in consequence of their greatness, or of the diversity of their functions, as the names of *hotṛ*, *adhvaryu*, *brahman*, *udgātṛ*, are applied to one and the same person, [according to the particular sacrificial office which he happens to be fulfilling.”]² Pursuing the triple classification here indicated, Yâska proceeds in the latter part of his work to divide the different deities, or forms of the same deities, specified in the fifth chapter of the Naighaṇṭuka or Vocabulary, which is prefixed to his work, into the three orders of terrestrial (Nirukta vii. 14—ix. 43), intermediate or atmospheric (x. 1—xi. 50), and celestial (xii. 1—46). I shall not reproduce these lists, which could not in some places be thoroughly understood without explanation, as they include several deities whose precise character, and identification with other deities are disputed, and embrace a number of objects which are not gods at all, but are constructively regarded as such from their being addressed in the hymns.³

The gods are spoken of in various texts of the Rig Veda as being thirty-three in number. Thus it is said in R.V. i. 34, 11 : “Come hither, Nâsatyas, Aṣvins, together with the thrice eleven gods,⁴ to drink our nectar.”

¹ Compare R.V. x. 158. 1.

² This passage is quoted more at length in “Sanskrit Texts,” vol. iv. pp. 133 ff.

³ The following is the manner in which Yâska classifies the hymns. I quote the classification as interesting, though unconnected with my present subject :—He divides (Nir. vii. 1) the hymns, or portions of hymns, devoted to the praise of the gods into three classes, viz., (1) those in which the gods are addressed in the third person as absent, as “Indra rules over heaven and earth,” etc. ; (2) those which address them in the second person as present, such as “O Indra, slay thou our enemies,” etc. ; and (3) those in which the author speaks in the first person, and about himself. Of these the first two classes are the most numerous. Again, some of the hymns are merely laudatory (as, “I declare the valorous deeds of Indra”) ; others contain prayers, not praises, as “may I see clearly with my eyes, be radiant in my face, and hear distinctly with my ears.” Again, there are imprecations, as “may I die to-day, if I am a Yâtudhâna,” etc. Again, a particular state of things is described, as “there was then neither death nor immortality.” Again, a lamentation is uttered, as, “the bright god will fly away and never return.” Or, praise and blame are expressed, as “he who eats alone, is alone in his guilt,” (x. 117. 6), and “the house of the liberal man is like a pond where lotuses grow” (x. 107. 10) ; and in the same way in the hymn to Dice gambling is reprehended, and agriculture praised. “Thus the views with which the rishis beheld the hymns were very various.”

⁴ That is, as Sâyana explains, those included in the three classes, consisting each of eleven gods, specified in the verse (i. 139. 11), “Ye eleven gods who exist in the sky,” etc.

Again, in i. 45, 2: "Agni, the wise gods lend an ear to their worshipper. God with the ruddy steeds, who lovest praise, bring hither those three and thirty."

i. 139, 11. "Ye gods, who are eleven in the sky, who are eleven on earth, and who in your glory¹ are eleven dwellers in the (atmospheric) waters, do ye welcome this our offering."

viii. 28, 1. "May the three over thirty gods who have visited our sacrificial grass, recognize us, and give us double."²

viii. 30, 2. "Ye who are the three and thirty gods worshipped by Manu, when thus praised, ye become the destroyers of our foes."

viii. 35, 3. "Aṣvins, associated with all the thrice eleven gods, with the Waters, the Maruts, the Bhṛguś, and united with the Dawn and the Sun, drink the Soma."

ix. 92, 4. "O pure Soma, all these gods, thrice eleven in number, are in thy secret," etc.³

This number of thirty-three gods is in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (iv. 5, 7, 2), explained as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras, and 12 Ādityas, together with Heaven and Earth; or according to another passage (xi. 6, 3, 5), together with Indra and Prajāpati, instead of Heaven and Earth.

This enumeration could not have been the one contemplated in the hymns, as we have seen that one of the texts above quoted (R.V. i. 139, 11) assigns eleven deities, who must have been all of the same class, to each of the three spheres sky, atmosphere and earth.⁴ It is also clear that this number of thirty-three gods could not have embraced the whole of the Vedic deities, as in some of the preceding texts Agni, the

¹ On this Sāyana remarks, "Although, according to the text, 'There are only three gods,' (Nirukta, vii. 5), the deities who represent the earth, etc., are but three, still through their greatness, *i.e.* their respective varied manifestations, they amount to thirty-three, according to the saying, 'other manifestations of Him exist in different places.' " Compare Sp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 4, ff.

² Roth says that *dvitā* does not mean *double*, but *assuredly, especially*.

³ This number of thirty-three gods is referred to in a hymn to the sun in the Mahābhārata iii. 171, as joining in the worship of that deity: *Trayas tṛṃśach cha vai devāḥ*. See also v. 14019, of the same 3rd book; book iv. v. 1769; and book xiii. v. 7102. See also the Sp. Br. xii. 8, 3, 29. The Taittiriya Saṁhitā ii. 3, 5, 1, says that Prajāpati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave in marriage to Soma. See also R. V. viii. 39, 9, Vāṭakhilya 9, 2.

⁴ On this division of the universe into three domains, see the remarks of Prof. Roth in his dissertation on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races." Jour. Germ. Or. Society, 1852, p. 68.

Aṣvins, and the Maruts are separately specified, as if distinct from the thirty-three. Further, Indra could not have been, in the opinion of the author of the Brâhmana, one of the twelve Âdityas (as he was regarded at a later period), since he is separately specified as making up the number of thirty-three gods.

In the R.V. iii. 39, the gods are mentioned as being much more numerous: "Three hundred, three thousand, thirty and nine gods have worshipped Agni,"¹ etc.

In another passage (i. 27, 13) the gods are spoken of as divided into great and small, young and old: "Reverence to the great, reverence to the small: reverence to the young, reverence to the old. Let us worship the gods if we are able; may I not, O gods, neglect the praise of the greatest."

I am not aware, however, that this latter classification of the gods is alluded to in any other of the hymns.

In the Rig Veda the gods, though spoken of as immortal (as in i. 24, 1; i. 72, 2, 10; i. 189, 3; iii. 21, 1; iv. 42, 1; x. 13, 1; x. 69, 9), are not, as we have already seen, regarded in general as unbeginning or self-existent beings. I have referred above to the passages in which they are described as being the offspring of Heaven and Earth. Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Dakṣha, and Anṣa are designated, in R.V. ii. 27, 1, and elsewhere, as Âdityas, or sons of Aditi. The birth of Indra is mentioned in various texts, and his father and mother are alluded to, though not generally named² (iv. 17, 4, 12; iv. 18, 5; vi. 59, 2; viii. 66, 1; x. 134, 1 ff.).

In iv. 54, 2, it is said that Savitr bestowed immortality on the gods. I have quoted elsewhere a number of passages

¹ The commentator remarks here that the number of the gods is declared in the Brhad Âranyaka Upanishad. See pp. 642 ff. of the text of this Upanishad, printed in the Bibl. Ind.; and pp. 205 ff. of the English translation in the same series. The same passage occurs in nearly the same words in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, xi. 6, 3, 4 ff.

² In R.V. x. 110, 12, a goddess called *Nishitigrî* is mentioned, apparently as the mother of Indra: *Nishitigrîh putram â chyâvaya itoye Indram*, "draw hither Indra the son of Nishitigrî to aid us," etc. Sâyana in this passage identifies her with Aditi, viz.: "She who swallows up her rival wife *Nishîti*, i.e. Diti." Indra is in fact addressed as an Âditya along with Varuṇa in vii. 85, 4. He is not, however, as we have seen above, considered as such in the Śp. Br. xi. 6, 3, 5, where he is mentioned as distinct from the 12 Âdityas.

from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, in which it is related how they became immortal; and how, though of the same parentage, and originally on a footing of equality, with the Asuras, they became superior to them.¹ (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 47-53; and the Journal of this Society, vol. xx. pp. 41-5.)

According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa they obtained their divine rank by austerity, *tapasā devā devatām agre āyan* (vol. iii. p. 276). Even in one of the later hymns of the Rīg Veda, Indra is said to have conquered heaven by the same means (x. 167, 1.) This immortality is, however, only a relative one, as according to the Puranic conception the gods are only a portion of the existing system of the universe, and are therefore subject, as regards their corporeal part, to the same law of dissolution as other beings. (See Professor Wilson's Sāṅkhya Kārikā, p. 15). Thus, in a verse quoted in the commentary on the Sāṅkhya Kārikā (See Wilson's S. K. p. 14) it is said: "Many thousands of Indras and of other gods have, through (the power of) time, passed away in every mundane age; for time is hard to overcome." And in the Sāṅkhya Aphorisms, iii. 53, it is said that "the suffering arising from decay and death is common to all;" which the commentator interprets to mean that such suffering is "the common lot of all beings, both those who go upwards and those who go downwards, from Brahmā to things without motion." The souls which have animated the gods, however, like those which animate all other corporeal beings, being eternal and imperishable, must of course survive all such dissolutions, to be either born again in other forms, or become absorbed in the supreme Brahma. (See Wilson's Viṣṇu Pur., p. 632, note 7; and my Sanskrit Texts, iii. 66, where it is shewn, on the authority of the Brahma Sūtras or of Śaṅkara their commentator, that the gods both desire and are capable of final emancipation).

I shall now proceed to give some account of the origin and characters of the other principal deities as represented in the Rīg Veda.

¹ In Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa ii. 4, 2, 1, it is said that all creatures came to Prajāpati, and asked that they might live. To the gods he said, "Sacrifice is your food, immortality is your support, the sun is your light," etc.

III. ADITI.

I begin with Aditi, who is the principal and almost the only goddess (the only one I have noticed except Nishtigri¹ and Ushas) specified by name in the R. V. as the mother of any of the gods.

Though not the subject of any separate hymn, she is an object of frequent celebration in the Rig Veda, where she is supplicated for various physical blessings (as in i. 43, 2), for protection, and for forgiveness. She is represented, as we have just seen, as the mother of Varuṇa and some of the other principal deities. In the Nighantu, or vocabulary prefixed to the Nirukta, the word Aditi is given as a synonym (1) of *prthivī*, the earth; (2) of *vāch*, voice; (3) of *go*, cow;² and (4) in the dual, of *dyāvā-prthivyaū*, heaven and earth (Nigh. i. 1, 11; 2, 11; 3, 30). In the Nirukta (iv. 22) she is defined as the mighty mother of the gods (*adīnā deva-mâtā*).³ In another part (xi. 22) of the same work (where, as I have said, the different gods are taken up in the order in which they are found in the list in the Nighantu, chap. 5) she is placed at the head of the female divinities of the intermediate region. In numerous texts of the R. V., Aditi is styled the "goddess," or the "divine" (as in iv. 55, 7; v. 51, 11; vi. 50, 1; vii. 38, 4; vii. 40, 2; viii. 25, 10; viii. 27, 5; viii. 56, 10), the "irresistible goddess" (*devī Aditir anarvā*, ii. 40, 6; vii. 40, 4; x. 92, 14), "the luminous,"⁴ the supporter of creatures, the celestial" (*jyotiṣmatīm Aditīm dhārayat-kṣhitīm*⁵ *starvatīm*, i. 136, 3), the "widely expanded" (*uru-vyachāh*, v. 46, 6), the "friend of all men" (*viśva-janyām*, vii. 10, 4). In v. 69, 3, the rishi exclaims: "In the morning I continually invoke the divine Aditi, at mid-day, at the rising

¹ See the last foot note but one.

² Compare R. V. viii. 90, 16, *gām anḡgām aditīm*; and Vaj. Sanh. xiii. 43 and 49.

³ In R. V. i. 113, 19, Ushas (the dawn) is styled "the mother of the gods, and the manifestation of Aditi;" or, as Sāyana explains, the rival of Aditi, from her appearing to call all the gods into existence when they are worshipped in the morning, as Aditi really gave them birth. Compare i. 115, 1.

⁴ See Roth in Jour. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69; and compare R. V. vii. 82, 10; "We celebrate the beneficent light of Aditi," etc.

⁵ The same epithet, *dhārayat-kṣhitī*, is, in R. V. x. 132, 2, applied to Mitra and Varuṇa, the sons of Aditi.

‘(setting ?) of the sun.’ In i. 185, 3, her gifts—pure, unsailable, celestial—are supplicated ; and in another place (i. 166, 12) the large blessings conferred by the Maruts are compared to the beneficent deeds of Aditi. In iv. 55, 3, she is styled Pastyâ, which Prof. Roth understands to mean a household goddess. In the Vâj. S. she is thus celebrated, 21, 5 (=A.V. vii. 6, 2): “Let us invoke to aid us the great mother of the devout, the mistress of the ceremonial, the strong in might, the undecaying, the widely-extended, the protecting, the skilfully guiding Aditi.” The following are some of the texts in which she is described as the mother of Varuṇa and the other kindred gods :

viii. 25, 3. “The mother, the great, the holy Aditi, brought forth these twain (Mitra and Varuṇa), the mighty lords of all wealth, that they might exercise divine power.”

viii. 47, 9. “May Aditi defend us, may Aditi, the mother of the opulent Mitra, of Aryaman, and of the sinless Varuṇa, grant us protection.” See also x. 36, 3, and x. 132, 6.

In R.V. ii. 27, 7, she is styled *rāja-putrā*,¹ “the mother of kings;” in iii. 4, 11, *su-putrā*, “the mother of excellent sons;” in viii. 56, 11, as *ugra-putrā*, “the mother of powerful sons;” and in Atharva Veda, iii. 8, 2 ; xi. 1, 11, “the divine Aditi, mother of heroes” (*śūra-putrā*). All these epithets have obviously reference to Varuṇa and the other Âdityas as her offspring.

In the Sâma Veda, the brothers as well as the sons of Aditi appear to be mentioned, i. 299 : “May Tvashtṛ, Parjanya, and Brahmanaspati [preserve] our divine utterance. May Aditi with (her) sons and brothers preserve our invincible and protective utterance.”²

In another passage of the R.V. x. 63, 2, Aditi is thus mentioned, along with the waters, and the earth, as one of the sources from which the gods had been generated : “All your names, ye gods, are to be revered, adored, and worshipped ;

¹ In ii. 27, 1, the epithet *rājabhyoḥ*, “kings,” is applied to all the six Âdityas there named.

² Benfey, however, understands the sons and brothers to be those of the worshipper.

ye who were born from Aditi,¹ from the waters, ye who are born from the earth, listen here to my invocation." In this passage we appear to find the same triple classification of gods as celestial, intermediate, and terrestrial, which we have already met with in R.V. i. 139, 11,² and in the Nirukta. The gods mentioned in the verse before us as sprung from Aditi, might thus correspond to the celestial gods, among whom the Âdityas are specified by Yâska as the first class, or to the Âdityas alone.³

The hymn before us proceeds in the next verse (x. 63, 3) "Gladden for our well-being those Âdityas, magnified in hymns, . . . energetic, to whom their mother the sky, Aditi, (or the infinite sky),⁴ dwelling in the aerial mountains, supplies the sweet ambrosial fluid." This verse, in which Aditi is either identified with, or regarded as an epithet of, the sky, appears rather to confirm the view I have taken of the one which precedes. The tenor of R.V. x. 65, 9, quoted in a previous foot-note (²), seems, however, opposed to this identification of Aditi with the sky, as she and her sons the Âdityas are there mentioned separately from the other gods who are the inhabitants of the three different spheres; though the last named classification may be meant to sum up all the gods before enumerated, and so to comprehend the Âdityas also.

But even if we suppose that in the preceding passages it is intended to identify Aditi with the sky, this identification

¹ Roth, in his Lexicon, understands the word Aditi in this passage to mean "infinity," the boundlessness of heaven as opposed to the limitation of earth.

² The same threefold origin of the gods, together with the use of the word "waters," to denote the intermediate region, is found also in x. 49, 2, where it is said: "The gods, both those who are the offspring of the sky, of the earth, and of the [atmospheric] waters, have assigned to me the name of Indra;" and in x. 65, 9, after mentioning Parjanya, Vâta, Indra, Vâyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, the poet says: "We invoke the divine Âdityas, Aditi, those (gods) who are terrestrial, celestial, who (exist) in the atmospheric waters." The word "waters" is used in the sense of atmosphere, in ii. 38, 11; viii. 43, 2; and x. 45, 1. Compare also vii. 6, 7.

³ Nirukta xii. 35: *Athâto dyusthând devagaṇâḥ | teshâm Âdityâḥ prathamâ-gâmîno bhavanti |*

⁴ The word for "sky" here is *Dyaus*, which must therefore be in this passage regarded as feminine, though, as we have seen, it is generally masculine, and designated as *father*. In v. 69, 8, the words *dyaus* and *aditi* are similarly united: *mimātu dyaur aditih*, etc.

is very far from being consistently maintained in the hymns. And it is equally difficult to take the word as a synonyme of the Earth. For although, as we have seen, Aditi is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the names of the Earth, and in the dual as equivalent to Heaven and Earth, and though in R.V. i. 72, 9, and Atharva Veda, xiii. 1, 38, she appears to be identified with the Earth,¹ we find her in many passages of the Rig Veda mentioned separately, and as if she were distinct from both the one and the other. Thus, in iii. 54, 19, 20, it is said: "May the Earth and the Heaven hear us May Aditi with the Âdityas hear us:" v. 46, 3: "I invoke Aditi, Heaven (*svah*), Earth, Sky," etc.; vi. 51, 5: "Father Heaven, beneficent mother Earth be gracious to us; all ye Âdityas, Aditi, united, grant us mighty protection;" ix. 97, 58: "May Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Ocean, Earth, and Heaven increase this to us;" x. 64, 4: "Aditi, Heaven and Earth," etc.; x. 36, 2: "Heaven and Earth, the wise and pious, protect us," etc.; . . . 3: "May Aditi, the mother of Mitra and the opulent Varuṇa, preserve us from every calamity." See also x. 92, 11. The most distinct text of all, however, is x. 63, 10: "(We invoke) the excellent protectress the Earth, the faultless Heaven, the sheltering and guiding Aditi: let us ascend for our well-being the divine bark, well rowed, free from imperfection, which never leaks."² Vâj. S. xviii. 22: "May Earth, and Aditi, and Diti, and Heaven, etc., etc., satisfy him with my sacrifice," etc.

In the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, indeed, it is said (ii. 2, 1, 19): "Aditi is this earth; she is this supporter," etc.; and in another passage (v. 3, 1, 4): "Aditi is this earth; she is the wife of the gods." (See also viii. 2, 1, 10; xi. 1, 3, 3). But this seems to be a later view.

I have already mentioned that Aditi is placed by Yâska at the head of the goddesses of the intermediate region. If, however, the same ancient writer has done rightly in

¹ R.V. i. 72, 9: "The earth, the mother, Aditi stood in power with her mighty sons for the support of the bird." The word *aditi* may, however, be here an epithet. A.V. xiii. 1, 38: *Yagâh prthivîyâ Adityâ upasthe*, etc.

² This verse occurs also in the Vâj. S. xxi. 6; and Ath. V. vii. 6, 3.

placing the Âdityas among the deities of the celestial sphere (Nir. xii. 35), Aditi their mother ought surely to have found her place in the same class, as it is scarcely conceivable that the composers of the hymn should have thought of thus separating the parent from her offspring. But Yâska is here merely following the order of the list of words (for it can hardly be called a classification) which he found in the fifth chapter of the Nighaṇṭu; and in following this list (to which he no doubt attached a certain authority) he has had to specify Varuṇa, who is twice named in it, not only among the celestial gods (xii. 21), among whom as an Âditya he was properly ranked, but also among the gods of the intermediate region¹ (x. 3).

In the following verse Aditi is named along with another goddess or personification, Diti, who, from the formation of her name, appears to be intended as an antithesis, or as a complement, to Aditi (v. 62, 8): "Ye, Mitra and Varuṇa, ascend your car, of golden form at the break of dawn, (your car) with iron supports at the setting² of the sun, and thence ye behold Aditi and Diti."³ Sâyaṇa here understands Aditi of the earth as an indivisible whole, and Diti as representing the separate creatures on its surface. In his essay on "The Highest Gods of the Arian Races" (Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71), Professor Roth translates these two words by "the eternal," and "the perishable." In his Lexicon, however, the same author (*s.v.*) describes Diti "as a goddess associated with Aditi, without any distinct conception, and merely, as it appears, as a contrast to her." Aditi may, however, here

¹ Roth, in his remarks on Nir. x. 4, offers the following explanation of this circumstance: "Varuṇa who, of all the gods, ought to have been assigned to the highest sphere, appears here in the middle rank, because, among his creative and regulative functions, the direction of the waters in the heavens is one."

² I here follow Roth, who, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71, and in his Lexicon, renders the word *aditâ sâryasya* here by "setting of the sun." Sâyaṇa goes the length of explaining this phrase by *aparâhṇa*, "afternoon," in his note on v. 76, 3, though not in the passage before us.

³ These two words, *aditi* and *diti*, occur also in a passage of the Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ (x. 16), which is partly the same as the present. The concluding clause (*tataḥ cakṣhātām aditīm dītīṃcha*) is thus explained by the commentator: "Thence behold [o Varuṇa and Mitra] the man who is not poor (*aditi = adīna*), i.e. who observes the prescribed ordinances, and him who is poor (*diti = dīna*), who follows the practices of the atheists."

represent the sky, and Diti the earth; or, if we are right in understanding the verse before us to describe two distinct appearances of Mitra and Varuṇa, one at the rising and the other at the setting of the sun, Aditi might possibly stand for the whole of nature as seen by day, and Diti for the creation as seen by night. At all events the two together appear to be put by the poet for the entire aggregate of visible nature.¹ Diti occurs again as a goddess, but without Aditi, in another place (vii. 15, 12): "You, Agni, and the divine Savitr and Bhaga, (bestow) renown with descendants; and Diti confers what is desirable." Sāyana here explains Diti as meaning a particular goddess. Roth (*s.v.*) considers her to be a personification of liberality or opulence. Diti is also mentioned along with Aditi as a goddess, A.V. xv. 6, 7, and xv. 18, 4; Vāj. S. xviii. 22; and in A.V. vii. 7, 1, her sons are mentioned. These sons, the Daityas, are well known in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the gods.

In the following remarkable verse Aditi embraces and represents the whole of nature. She is the source and substance of all things celestial and intermediate, divine and human, present and future (i. 89, 10): "Aditi is the sky; Aditi is the intermediate firmament; Aditi is the mother, and father, and son; Aditi is all the gods, and the five tribes;² Aditi is whatever has been born; Aditi is whatever shall be born."³

¹ The words *aditi* and *diti* occur together in another passage, iv. 2, 11 (*ditiñcha rāsua aditim urushya*), where Sāyana translates *diti* by "the liberal man," and *aditi* by the *illiberal*, while Roth renders them by "wealth" and "penury" respectively.

² In another place, vi. 51, 11, Aditi is invoked, along with Indra, the earth, the ground (*kshāma*), Pūshan, Bhaga, and the five tribes (*pañchajanāh*), to bestow blessings. Are the "five tribes" to be understood here, and in R.V. x. 53, 4, 5, with some old commentators (see Nir. iii. 8) of the Gandharvas, Pitṛs, Devas, Asuras, and Rākshasas; or with the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa quoted by Sāyana on i. 89, 10, of gods, men, Gandharvas, Apsarasas, serpents, and Pitṛs (the Gandharvas and Apsarasas being taken as one class)? Perhaps we should rather understand the term as denoting the whole pantheon, or a particular portion of it. In R.V. x. 55, 3, *pancha devāh*, the five gods, or classes of gods (?), are mentioned.

³ Professor Roth, in the Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 68 f., has the following observations on Aditi and the Âdityas. "There (in the highest heaven) dwell and reign those gods who bear in common the name of Âdityas. We must, however, if we would discover their earliest character, abandon the conceptions which in a later age, and even in that of the heroic poems, were entertained regarding these deities. According to this conception they were twelve sun-gods, bearing evident reference to the twelve months. But for the most ancient period we must

Sāyaṇa states that here Aditi is either the earth, or the mother of the gods, and that she is lauded under the character of universal nature.¹ Yāska says (Nir. iv. 2, 3), that the variety of Aditi's manifestations (*vibhūti*) is here set forth. This text occurs at the end of a hymn addressed to all the gods, and does not appear to have any connexion with the verses which precede, from which it derives no elucidation.²

The signification, "earth" or "nature," may be that in which the word Aditi is employed in R.V. i. 24, 1, 2: "of which god, now, of which of all the immortals, shall we invoke the amiable name? who shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother? 2. Let us invoke the amiable name of the divine Agni, the first of the immortals; he shall give us back to the great Aditi, that I may behold my father and my mother." These words are declared in the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa to have been uttered by Śunaḥṣepa when he was about to be immolated (see Professor Wilson's Essay in the Journal of this Society, xiii. 100; Professor Roth's paper in Weber's Indische Studien, i. 46). and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff.). Whether this be correct or not, the words may be understood as spoken by some one in danger of death from sickness or otherwise, who prayed to be permitted again to behold the

hold fast the primary signification of their name. They are the inviolable, imperishable, eternal beings. Aditi, eternity, or the eternal, is the element which sustains them and is sustained by them. This conception of Aditi, from its nature, has not been carried out into a distinct personification in the Vedas, though the beginnings of such are not wanting, whilst later ages assume without difficulty a goddess Aditi, with the Âdityas for her sons, without seriously enquiring further whence this goddess herself comes."

¹ M. Ad. Regnier, *Étude sur l'idiome des Vedas*, p. 28, remarks: "Aditi is the name of a divinity, a personification of the *All*, the mother of the gods."

² There is a hymn (x. 100)—addressed to different gods, and where they are invoked in succession—in which the words *d sarvatātīm aditīm ṛṣimāhe* form the conclusion of all the verses except the last. The precise meaning of these words was not very clear to me, especially as they have no necessary connection with the preceding portions of the different stanzas in which they occur. But Professor Aufrecht suggests that the verb *ṛṣimāhe* governs a double accusative, and that the words mean "We ask Aditi for *sarvatātī*," (whatever that may mean). In an ingenious excursus on R.V. i. 94, 15 (*Orient und Occident*, ii. 519 ff.), Professor Bensey regards the word as coming originally from the same root as the Latin *sālūt*, of which he supposes the primitive form to have been *salotāt*, and to have the same signification. This sense certainly suits the context of the four passages on which principally he founds it, viz., i. 106, 2; iii. 54, 11; ix. 96, 4; x. 36, 14. He has not noticed the hymn before us.

face of nature. This interpretation is confirmed by the epithet *maht*, "great," applied in this verse to Aditi, which would not be so suitable if, with Roth (*s.v.*), we understood the word here in the sense of "freedom" or "security."¹ If we should understand the father and mother whom the suppliant is anxious to behold, as meaning heaven and earth (see above), it would become still more probable that Aditi is to be understood as meaning "nature."

Whatever may be thought of Benfey's interpretation of this word, as given in the last note, the goddess Aditi is undoubtedly in many other texts connected with the idea of deliverance from sin. Thus at the end of this same hymn (i. 24, 15) it is said: "Varuṇa, loose us from the uppermost, the middle, and the lowest bond. Then may we, O Āditya, by thy ordinance, be without sin against Aditi."

The same reference is also found in the following texts:

i. 162, 22: "May Aditi make us sinless."

ii. 27, 14: "Aditi, Mitra, and Varuṇa, be gracious, if we have committed any sin against you."

iv. 12, 4: "Whatever offence we have, through our folly, committed against thee among men, O youngest of the gods, make us free from sin against Aditi, take our sins altogether away, O Agni."

v. 82, 6: "May we be free from sin against Aditi through the impulsion of the divine Savitr."

vii. 87, 7: "May we, fulfilling the ordinances of Aditi, be sinless in Varuṇa, who is gracious even to him who has committed sin."

vii. 93, 7: "Whatever sin we have committed, be thou

¹ Benfey in his translation of the hymn (*Orient und Occident*, i. 33), though he treats Aditi as a proper name, yet explains it as denoting "sinlessness." The abstract noun *adititva* occurs along with *anāgāstva*, "sinlessness," in the following line (vii. 51, 1): *anāgāstve adititve turāṣa imam yojñam dadhatu proshamāndh*, "May the mighty gods, listening to us, preserve this ceremony in sinlessness, and prosperity." Though *adititva* is joined with *anāgāstva*, it does not follow that it must have the same sense.—In the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upanishad*, p. 53 ff., the name of Aditi is explained from the root *ad*, to eat: "Whatever he created, he began to eat: for Aditi derives her name from this, that she eats every thing."—Aditi is an epithet of Agni in *R.V.* iv. 1, 20; vii. 9, 3; and x. 11, 2; of Aryaman in ix. 81, 6; and of Dyaus in x. 11, 1. In vii. 52, 1, the worshippers ask that they may be *aditayah*, which Sāyana renders by *akhaṇḍaniyāḥ*, "invincible."

(Agni) compassionate: may Aryaman and Aditi remove it from us."

x. 12, 8: "May Mitra here, may Aditi, may the divine Savitr declare us sinless to Varuṇa."

x. 36, 3: "May Aditi preserve us from all sin [or calamity]," etc.

In these passages, where Aditi is supplicated for forgiveness of sin, we might suppose that she was regarded as the great power which wields the forces of the universe, and controls the destinies of men by moral laws. But this supposition is weakened by the fact that many others of the gods are in the same way petitioned for pardon, as Savitr (iv. 54, 3) and other deities, as the Sun, Dawn, Heaven and Earth (x. 35, 2, 3), Agni (iii. 54, 19).

Though, as we have seen, Aditi is regarded as the mother of some of the principal Vedic deities, she is yet, in other texts, represented as playing a subordinate part.

Thus, in vii. 38, 4, she is mentioned as celebrating the praises of Savitrī, along with her sons Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman; and in viii. 12, 14, she is declared to have produced a hymn to Indra.

In a hymn of the tenth book (the 72nd), supposed from its contents to be of a comparatively late date, the process of creation is described at greater length than in any earlier passage, and the share which Aditi took in it is not very intelligibly set forth:¹ "1. Let us, in chaunted hymns, with praise, declare the births of the gods,—any of us who in (this) latter age may behold them. 2. Brahmanaspati blew forth these births like a blacksmith. In the earliest age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent. 3. In the first age of the gods, the existent sprang from the non-existent: thereafter the regions sprang, thereafter, from Uttānapad. 4. The earth sprang from Uttānapad, from the earth sprang the regions: Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha. 5. For

¹ I have already given this translation in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 10, 11, but repeat it here, with some variations, for the sake of completeness. See (ibid. p. 12) the explanation of verses 4, 5, given by Professor Roth; and the passage quoted from him above.

Aditi was produced, she who is thy daughter, O Daksha. After her the gods were born, happy, partakers of immortality. 6. When, gods, ye moved, agitated, upon those waters, then a violent dust¹ issued from you, as from dancers. 7. When, gods, ye, like strenuous men,² replenished the worlds, then ye drew forth the sun which was hidden in the (ethereal?) ocean. 8. Of the eight sons³ of Aditi who were born from her body, she approached the gods with seven, and cast out Mârttāṇḍa (the eighth). 9. With seven sons Aditi approached the former generation : she again produced Mârttāṇḍa for birth as well as for death."⁴

Yâska has the following remarks on verse 4 of this hymn in the Nirukta, xi. 23 : " Daksha is, they say, an Âditya (or son of Aditi), and is praised among the Âdityas. And Aditi is, on the other hand, the daughter of Daksha (according to this text), '*Daksha sprang from Aditi, and Aditi from Daksha.*' How can this be possible? They may have had the same origin ; or, according to the nature of the gods, they may have been born from each other, and have derived their substance from each other."

The concurrence of both Daksha and Aditi in the production of some of the gods is alluded to in two other texts :

x. 5, 7 : " Being a thing both non-existent and existent in the highest heaven, in the creation of Daksha and in the womb of Aditi,⁵ Agni is our firstborn of the ceremony," etc.

x. 64, 5 : " At the creation, the work of Daksha,⁶ thou, O Aditi, ministerest to the kings Mitra and Varuṇa," etc.

Daksha, though, as we shall see, he is generally regarded as one of the Âdityas, is also (if we are to follow the commentators) sometimes represented as their father, or at least as the father of some of the gods. Thus it is said in vi. 50, 2, " O mighty Sûrya, visit in sinlessness the resplendent gods,

¹ Compare R.V. iv. 42, 5.

² *Yatayaḥ*. See R.V. viii. 6, 18 ; and Sâma V. ii. 304.

³ Compare A.V. viii. 9. 21 : *ashṭa-yanir Aditir ashṭa-putrá* |

⁴ The last words seem to refer to the name Mârttāṇḍa, a word compounded of *mārtta*, derived apparently from *mṛita*, "dead," and *aṇḍa*, "an egg," regarded as a place of birth.

⁵ *Dakshasya janmann Aditer upasthe*.

⁶ *Dakshasya vâ Adite janmani vrate*.

the sons of Daksha,¹ who have two births, are holy, true, celestial, adorable, and have Agni on their tongues."

vii. 66, 2. "Which two wise gods, the mighty sons of Daksha (*i.e.* Mitra and Varuṇa) the deities have established to exercise divine rule."²

In the Taittirīya Sanhitā, i. 2, 3, 1 (p. 309 in Bibl. Ind.), the same epithet is applied to the gods: "May those deities who are mind-born, mind-exerting, intelligent, who have Daksha for their father,³ protect and deliver us," etc.

Some doubt may be thrown on the correctness of taking Daksha in the preceding passages to represent a person, from the fact that in R.V. viii. 25, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are not only called the "strong sons of Daksha" (*sānā Dakshasya sukratū*), but also the "grandsons of mighty strength" (*napātā śavaso mahah*). But even if the word Daksha be taken figuratively in this passage, it may represent a person in the others; for there is no doubt that Daksha is sometimes a proper name, whilst this is never the case, so far as I know, with *śaras*. There is another obscure passage (iii. 27, 9, 10 = S.V. ii. 827) in which Daksha may be a proper name.

In the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, ii. 4, 4, 2, Daksha is identified with Prajâpati, or the creator.⁴

The part which he plays in the later mythology may be seen by consulting Prof. Wilson's Vishṇu Purāṇa, pp. 49, 54 ff., 115-122, and 348. According to the first account he is one of Brahmā's mind-born sons (p. 49), and marries Prasûti (p. 54), who bears to him twenty-four daughters, among whom Aditi is not specified. In the second account,

¹ The word so rendered is *Daksha-pitarah*, "having Daksha for their father." Sāyana explains it as meaning "those who have Daksha for their forefather."

² Sāyana here departs from the interpretation he had given on vi. 50, 2, and explains *Daksha-pitarah* as = *balasya pūlakau svāminau vā*, "preservers, or lords, of strength."

³ The commentator explains the word *Daksha-pitrah* as = *Dakshah prajâpatir utpādako yeshām te*, those of whom the Prajâpati Daksha is the generator. The meaning of *Daksha-pitarah* in R.V. viii. 52, 10 is not very clear. Sāyana takes it to mean the preservers or lords of food. It may, however, be taken as a vocative, and applied to the gods. The word also occurs in Vâj. S. xiv. 3, where the commentator understands it to signify *virgyasya pūlayitri*, "preserver of strength."

⁴ See the paper in a former vol. of this Journal, xx. 40. In the sequel of the passage in the Ś. P. Br. ii. 4, 4, 6, a person named Daksha, the son of Parvata, is mentioned.

however, (p. 122) Aditi is mentioned as one of his sixty daughters who, along with Diti, Danu, and ten others, is said to have been given in marriage to Kaṣyapa, to whom she (Aditi) bore the twelve Ādityas. According to the third account (p. 348), Aditi is said to be the daughter of Daksha, and the mother of Vivasvat, the Sun. In a passage in one of the recensions of the Rāmāyaṇa (Schlegel, i. 31, Calc. ed. i. 29), in the Mahābhārata, and in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, viii. 16, 1 ff., Aditi is described as the wife of Kaṣyapa, and the mother of Viṣṇu in his dwarf incarnation. (See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 116 ff.)

An older authority, however, the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, gives quite a different account of the relation of Aditi to Viṣṇu, as it (xxix. 60) represents her to be his wife (*Ādityai Viṣṇu-patnyai charuḥ*).

IV. THE ĀDITYAS.

The sons of Aditi specified in R.V. ii. 27, 1, are these six : Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Varuṇa, Daksha, and Anṣa. In ix. 114, 3, the Ādityas are spoken of as seven in number, but their names are not mentioned.¹ In x. 72, 8, 9, already cited above, it is declared that Aditi had eight sons, of whom she only presented seven to the gods, casting out Mārttāṇḍa, the eighth, though she is said to have afterwards brought him forward. Here, again, the names of the rest are omitted. Sūrya is, however, spoken of as an Āditya in R.V. i. 50, 12 ; i. 191, 9 ; viii. 90, 11, 12 ;² and as an Āditeya (this word equally means 'son of Aditi'), identified with Agni, he is said (x. 88, 11),³ to have been placed by the gods in the sky. In viii. 18, 3, Savitr is named along with Bhaga, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, four of the Ādityas, after that

¹ See Sanskrit Texts, iv. 101 ff., where these and many other passages relating to the Ādityas are quoted.

² The last-mentioned text is as follows: *Daṇ mahān asi Sūrya baḥ Āditya mahān asi* ! *Daḥ Sūrya ṛavasā mahān asi* | "O great art thou, Sūrya ! O son of Aditi, thou art great ! O Sūrya, in renown thou art great," etc.

³ *Yadeṇ enam adadhur yajñīyāso divi devāḥ Sūryam Āditeyam*. In x. 37, 1, however, the Sun is called the Son of the Heaven (*divas putrāya*) ; and there as well as elsewhere he is called the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa.

class of deities had been celebrated generally in the preceding verse. Sûrya or Savitṛ therefore appears to have a certain claim to be considered the seventh Âditya (compare A.V. xiii. 2, 9, and 37, where the sun is called the son of Aditi). We have seen above that Indra also is in one passage (vii. 85, 4), addressed as an Âditya along with Varuṇa.

In the Taittiriya Veda (quoted by Sâyaṇa on R.V. ii. 27, 1) the Âdityas are said to be eight in number: Mitra, Varuṇa, Dhâtṛ, Aryaman, Anṣu, Bhaga, Indra, and Vivasvat. Here five names correspond with those given in R.V. ii. 27, 1, while Dhâtṛ is substituted for Daksha, who is omitted, and two names are added, Vivasvat (who may be identified with Sûrya) and Indra. In one place (iii. 1, 3, 3) the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa speaks of the Âdityas as eight; but in two other passages (vi. 1, 2, 8; xi. 6, 3, 8) as being twelve in number. In the first of these two latter texts they are said to have sprung from twelve drops generated by Prajâpati (in which case they could not have been sons of Aditi), and in the second they are identified with the twelve months.¹ In the later Indian literature they are always said to be twelve (see the passages quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," iv. 101-106).

In some of the hymns where the Âdityas are celebrated, they are characterized by the epithets "bright," "golden," "pure," "sinless," "blameless," "holy," "strong," (*kshat-triyâh*, viii. 56, 1), "kings," "resistless," "vast," (*uravaḥ*) "deep," (*gabhtrâh*) "sleepless," "unwinking,"² "many-eyed," (*bhûryakshâh*), "far-observing," "fixed in their purpose." Distant things are near to them, they uphold and preserve the worlds, they see the good and evil in men's hearts, they punish sin (ii. 29, 5), and spread nooses for their enemies (ii. 27, 16).³ They are supplicated for various boons, for pro-

¹ In the S. P. Br. iii. 6, 1, 13, a dispute between the Âdityas and Angirasas regarding a sacrifice is mentioned. In the same work, xii. 2, 2, 9, it is said that these two classes of beings (the Âdityas and Angirasas) were both descendants of Prajâpati, and that they strove together for the priority in ascending to heaven. In A.V. xii. 3, 43 f., and xix. 39, 5 also they are connected with one another.

² This is a characteristic of the gods in general.

³ In regard to these deities, Roth thus expresses himself in the Journ. of the

tection, offspring, guidance, light, forgiveness, etc. (see especially R.V. ii. 27, 1-16).

The Âdityas regarded as a class of gods are not, however, characterized so specifically in the hymns, as some of the individual deities who bear that general designation, such as Varuṇa and Mitra; and I shall therefore proceed to give some account of the two latter, (with whose names that of Aryaman is sometimes associated), omitting any further reference to Bhaga and Anṣa, who are rarely mentioned, and to Dakṣha, of whom something has been already said. Sûrya and Savitr will be treated separately.

V. MITRA AND VARUṆA.

These two deities are very frequently found in conjunction. Varuṇa is also often separately celebrated; Mitra but seldom. Their frequent association is easily explained if the commentators are right in understanding Mitra to represent the day, and Varuṇa the night. Thus, Sâyaṇa says on R.V. i. 89, 3: "Mitra is the god who presides over the day, according to the Vedic text, 'the day is Mitra's;'" and again, "Varuṇa is derived from the root *vr*, to cover; he envelops the wicked in his snares; and is the god who rules over the night, according to the text, 'the night is Varuṇa's.'"¹ In the same way the commentator on the Taittirîya Sanhitâ, i. 8, 16, 1 (Bibl. Ind. vol. ii. p. 164) affirms that the "word Mitra denotes the sun," and that the "word Varuṇa signifies one who

Germ. Or. Society, vi. 69: "The eternal and inviolable element in which the Âdityas dwell, and which forms their essence, is the celestial light. The Âdityas, the gods of this light, do not therefore by any means coincide with any of the forms in which light is manifested in the universe. They are neither sun, nor moon, nor stars, nor dawn, but the eternal sustainers of this luminous life, which exists as it were behind all these phenomena."

¹ See also his note on i. 141, 9, where he gives the same explanation regarding Mitra and Varuṇa, and adds that Aryaman is the god who goes between the other two. According to his note on i. 90, 1, Aryaman is the god who makes the division of day and night. Compare also his note on ii. 38, 8, where he says that Varuṇa is represented as giving resting-places to creatures after sunset, because he carries on the affairs of the night (*râtrer nirvâhakatvât*). In i. 35, 1, Mitra and Varuṇa are invoked along with Agni, Night and Savitr: "I invoke first Agni for our welfare; I invoke hither Mitra and Varuṇa to our aid; I invoke Night who gives rest to the world; I invoke the divine Savitr to our assistance." See also what is said of Mitra awakening men, in iii. 59, 1, which will be quoted below.

envelops like darkness, according to the text (of the Taittiriya Brâhmaṇa, i. 7, 10, 1, vol. i. p. 153) 'the day is Mitra's and the night is Varuṇa's.' In R.V. viii. 41, 3, it is said of the latter, "The beautiful god has embraced the nights, by his wisdom he has established the days, and everything perfectly." In another place (on R.V. vii. 87, 1) Sâyaṇa says that it is the setting sun which is called Varuṇa.

The following are some of the principal characteristics of these gods, as represented in the Rig Veda. Varuṇa is sometimes, at least, visible to his worshippers. Thus, in i. 25, 18, the rishi says: "I beheld him who is visible to all; I beheld his chariot upon the ground." In vii. 88, 2, also, the poet exclaims: "When I have obtained a vision of Varuṇa, I have regarded his lustre as resembling that of Agni."¹ Mighty and fixed in purpose, he sits in his abode exercising sovereignty (i. 25, 10). He is arrayed in golden mail,² and surrounded by his messengers or angels, *spaṣaḥ* (v. 13). His house is said to have a thousand doors (vii. 88, 5). Again he is described as occupying, along with Mitra, a palace supported by a thousand columns³ (ii. 41, 5; v. 62, 6). The two deities ascend their chariot, which is drawn by horses and is golden-coloured at the break of day, and takes the hue of iron at the setting of the sun.⁴ Mounted on their car, and soaring in the highest empyrean, they behold all things in heaven and earth (v. 62, 4, 8; v. 63, 1). Varuṇa is said to be farsighted (i. 25, 5, 16; viii. 90, 2); and thousand-eyed (vii. 34, 10). The sun is called his golden-winged messenger (x. 123, 6), or in other places, the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa (vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1), just as the same luminary is said by Hesiod (Opp. et Dies, 265) to be the eye of Jupiter,⁵ *Πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*. Along with

¹ See Roth's article on "The highest gods of the Arian races." Journ. Germ. Or. Society, vi. 71.

² Golden mail is also assigned to Savitr (iv. 53, 2).

³ Compare Ovid. Met. ii. 1 ff. *Regia Solis erat sublimibus alta columnis*, etc.

⁴ I follow Roth here in understanding *uditā śīryasya* not of the *rising* (as the phrase generally means), but of the *setting* of the sun. It is thus only that the iron colour of the chariot becomes intelligible.

⁵ See Max Müller's Essay on Comp. Mythol. in the Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 53.

Aryaman, another of the Âdityas, these two gods are called sun-eyed (vii. 66, 10). They are also denominated *supāni*, the beautiful or skilful-handed. Varuṇa is frequently spoken of as a king (i. 24, 7, 8; ii. 7, 4; iv. 1, 2; v. 40, 7; vii. 64, 1; x. 103, 9; x. 173, 5); as king of all (x. 132, 4); as king of all, both gods and men (ii. 27, 10); as king of the universe (v. 85, 3), and of all that exists (vii. 87, 6); as an universal monarch, *samrât* (i. 25, 10; ii. 28, 6; v. 85, 1; vi. 68, 9; viii. 42, 1); as a self-dependent ruler, *svarât* (ii. 28, 1). The same epithets of king and universal monarch are also applied in other places to Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly (as in i. 71, 9; i. 136, 1, 4; i. 137, 1; ii. 28, 9; v. 62, 6; v. 63, 2, 3, 5, 7; v. 65, 2; v. 68, 2; vii. 64, 2; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 4, 7, 8; viii. 90, 2; x. 65, 5).¹

Power, martial strength, or sovereign authority, *kshattrā*, is also constantly predicated of one or both of these deities; and they as well as the Âdityas generally are denominated the strong, or martial, gods, *kshattriyâh* (as in i. 24, 6; i. 25, 5; i. 136, 1; v. 66, 3; v. 67, 1; v. 68, 1, 3; vi. 49, 1; vi. 51, 10; vi. 67, 5, 6; vii. 34, 11; vii. 64, 2; viii. 25, 8; viii. 56, 1; viii. 90, 5). They are also designated as *rudrâh*, the terrible (v. 70, 2, 3); as *asurâh*, the divine (vii. 36, 2; viii. 25, 4); as the divine and lordly deities (*asurâ tâv aryâ*) among the gods (vii. 65, 2). The epithet *asura*, divine, is frequently applied to Varuṇa in particular (as in i. 24, 14; ii. 27, 10; v. 85, 5; viii. 42, 1), though it is also given to other deities of the Vedic pantheon.

Another word employed to express their divine power, or wisdom, is *mâyâ*; and Varuṇa is sometimes called the *mâyin*, the possessor of this attribute (vi. 48, 14; vii. 28, 4; x. 99, 10; x. 147, 5). While in some places (iii. 61, 7; v. 63, 4) this quality (*mâyâ*) is ascribed to the two deities themselves, in other verses of the last quoted hymn (v. 63, 3, 7) they are said to cause the heaven to rain, and to uphold their ordi-

¹ The same deities with Aryaman are called kings in i. 41, 3; and kings of men (*rājāṇaḥ charṣaṇinām*) in x. 26, 6. In vii. 66, 11, it is said: "The kings Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman, who established the year, the month, and the day, etc. enjoy unrivalled dominion (*kshattrā*).

nances, through the power (*māyā*) of the divine being (*asura*). It might appear as if the word *asura* denoted here some great Being distinct from, and superior to, Mitra and Varuṇa, through whose strength they acted; but in another hymn (v. 85, 5, 6) the term *asura* is distinctly used as an epithet of Varuṇa himself.

The grandest cosmical functions are ascribed to Varuṇa. Possessed of illimitable resources, this divine being has meted out, created, and upholds, heaven and earth; he dwells in all worlds as sovereign ruler; indeed, the three worlds are embraced within him (iv. 42, 3, 4; vi. 70, 1; vii. 86, 1; vii. 87, 5, 6; viii. 41, 4, 5, 10; viii. 42, 1). The wind which resounds through the atmosphere is his breath (vii. 87, 2). He has opened boundless paths for the sun,¹ which he placed in the heavens, and has hollowed out channels for the rivers, which flow by his command (i. 24, 8; ii. 28, 4; vii. 87, 5). By his wonderful contrivance the rivers pour their waters into the one ocean, but never fill it.² His ordinances are fixed and unassailable.³ They rest on him, unshaken, as upon a mountain; through their operation, the moon walks in brightness, and the stars which appear in the nightly sky mysteriously vanish in daylight (i. 24, 10; i. 25, 6, 10; i. 44, 14; i. 141, 9; ii. 1, 4; ii. 28, 8; iii. 54, 18; viii. 25, 2). Neither the birds flying in the air, nor the rivers in their sleepless flow, can attain a knowledge of his power or his wrath (i. 24, 6). His messengers behold both worlds (vii. 87, 3).⁴ He knows the flight of birds in the sky, the path of ships on the ocean, the course of the far-travelling wind, and beholds all the secret things that have been, or shall be done (i. 25, 7, 9, 11). No creature can even wink without him

¹ In vii. 60, 4, Mitra, Varuṇa, and Aryaman are said to open out paths for the sun.

² See Roth on "The highest gods of the Arian races," p. 71; and Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 78. Compare Ecclesiastes, i. 7: "All the rivers run into the sea; yet the sea is not full: unto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they return again."

³ See Roth in the Journ. Amer. Or. Society, iii. 341; and Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 534, note 2.

⁴ The alert and invincible messengers of Mitra and Varuṇa are also mentioned in vi. 67, 5. The same word *spas* is used in i. 33, 8, where Indra's messengers seem to be spoken of.

(ii. 28, 6). He witnesses men's truth and falsehood (vii. 49, 3). He instructs the rishi Vasisht̥ha in mysteries (vii. 87, 4). In the sixteenth hymn of the fourth book of the Atharva Veda, his power and his omniscience are thus celebrated :

"1. The great One who rules over these worlds beholds (all) as if he were close at hand. When any man thinks he is doing aught by stealth, the gods know it all ; 2. (and they perceive) every one who stands, or walks, or glides along secretly, or withdraws into his house, or into any lurking-place. Whatever two persons, sitting together, devise, Varuṇa the king knows it, (being present there as) a third.¹ 3. This earth, too, belongs to Varuṇa the king, and that vast sky whose ends are so far off. The two seas [the ocean and the atmosphere]² are Varuṇa's loins ; he resides in this small pool of water. 4. He who should flee far beyond the sky, would not there escape from Varuṇa the king.³ His messengers, descending from heaven, traverse this world ; thousand-eyed, they look across the whole earth. 5. King Varuṇa perceives all that exists within, as well as beyond, heaven and earth. The winkings of men's eyes are all numbered by him.⁴ He moves (all) these (things) as a gamester throws his dice. 6. May thy destructive nooses, O Varuṇa, which are cast seven-fold, and three-fold, ensnare the man who speaks lies, and pass by him who speaks truth."⁵

Varuṇa is supposed to have unlimited control over the destinies of mankind. He is said to have a hundred, a thousand remedies ; is continually supplicated to drive away evil (*nirrti*) and sin (i. 24, 9) ; to forgive sin (ii. 28, 5, 7, 9 ;

¹ In R.V. x. 11, 1, Agni is compared to Varuṇa in omniscience ; which seems to shew that this is an attribute in which Varuṇa was regarded as pre-eminent. With verses 1 and 2, compare Psalm cxxxix. 1-4, and St. Matthew xviii. 20.

² Compare Genesis, i. 7, and Psalm cxlviii. 4.

³ With this verse compare verses 7-10 of the Psalm just referred to.

⁴ Compare St. Matthew, x. 30.

⁵ The hymn is concluded by two verses, containing imprecations. After giving a German translation of the whole in his Dissertation on the Atharva Veda, page 19 f. (Tübingen, 1856) Professor Roth remarks as follows : "There is no hymn in the whole Vedic literature which expresses the divine omniscience in such forcible terms as this ; and yet this beautiful description has been degraded into an introduction to an imprecation. But in this, as in many other passages of this Veda, it is natural to conjecture that existing fragments of older hymns have been used to deck out magical formulas. The first five, or even six verses of this hymn might be regarded as a fragment of this sort."

v. 85, 7, 8); he is entreated not to steal away, but to prolong life (i. 24, 11; i. 25, 12); and to spare the suppliant who daily transgresses his laws (i. 25, 1, 2). In many places mention is made of the bonds, or nooses, with which he seizes and punishes transgressors (i. 24, 15; i. 25, 21; vi. 74, 4; x. 85, 24). Mitra and Varuṇa conjointly are spoken of in one passage (vii. 7, 65, 2) as armed with many nooses for falsehood (*bhūripāśā anṛtasya*); and in another place (vii. 84, 2) Indra and Varuṇa are described as binding with bonds not formed of rope (*setṛbhir arajjubhiḥ sinithaḥ*); on the other hand Varuṇa is said to be gracious even to him who has committed sin (vii. 87, 7). He is the wise guardian of immortality (*anṛtasya gopā*); he and Yama living in self-dependent blessedness will be beheld in the next world by the departed (x. 14, 7).¹

That Varuṇa, far more than any other god, was regarded as possessing a high moral character, as well as a placable disposition, appears not only from the passages to which I have already referred, but also from the two hymns (vii. 86, and vii. 89) translated by Prof. Müller in his *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* pp. 540 f.; in which the worshipper, while palliating his sins, implores the god's forgiveness, and entreats that his life may be spared.² In another place (vii. 88, 4 ff) the same rishi alludes to his previous friendship with Varuṇa, and to the favours the god had formerly conferred upon him, and enquires why they had now ceased:—"Varuṇa placed Vasishṭha on his boat: by his power the wise and mighty deity made

¹ In the *Journal of the German Oriental Society* for 1855, pp. 237 ff., Prof. Weber communicates from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 6, 1, 1 ff.) a legend regarding Varuṇa and his son Bhṛgu. The latter had esteemed himself superior to his father in wisdom, and was desired by him to visit the four points of the compass, where he witnesses certain visions of retribution in the other world. Prof. Weber accompanies this legend with some very interesting remarks. Among other things, he observes that the legend is shewn to be ancient from the high position which it assigns to Varuṇa, who appears to be conceived as the lord of the universe, seated in the midst of heaven, from which he surveys the places of punishment situated all round him. Varuṇa, he adds, is represented in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xiii. 3, 6, 5, as having the form of a fair, bald, toothless, (with projecting teeth?), and yellow-eyed old man.

² On the character of Varuṇa as a moral governor, see Roth, *Journ. Germ. Or. Society*, vi. 71 ff.; a paper by the same author in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Society*, iii. 340 ff.; and his reply to Weber in the *Journ. Germ. Or. Society*, vii. 607.

him a rishi to offer praise in an auspicious period of his days, that his days and dawns might be prolonged. 5. Where¹ are those friendships of us two? Let us seek the peace which (we enjoyed) of old. I have gone, O self-sustaining Varuṇa, to thy vast and spacious house with a thousand gates. 6. He who was thy friend, intimate, constant, and beloved has committed offences against thee. Let not us who are guilty reap the fruits of our sin. Do thou, a wise god, grant protection to him who praises thee."

The same or nearly the same functions and attributes as are ascribed to Varuṇa are also attributed to him and Mitra conjointly. They uphold and rule over the earth and sky, the shining and the terrestrial regions, and place the sun in the heavens (v. 62, 3; v. 69, 1, 4; v. 63, 7; x. 132, 2; vi. 67, 5; vii. 61, 4). They are the guardians of the world (v. 62, 9; vii. 51, 2; viii. 25, 1; x. 126, 4). By their ordinance the great sky shines (x. 65, 5). They discharge the rain (v. 62, 3; v. 63, 1-3). Their godhead is beyond the ken of the skies, or of rivers (i. 159, 9). They (together with Aryaman) are awful deities, haters and dispellers of falsehood (i. 152, 1; ii. 27, 8; vii. 66, 13). They are guardians of sacred rites (v. 63, 1; vii. 64, 2). They carry out their fixed purposes, which are unobstructed even by the immortal gods (v. 63, 7; v. 69, 4). They make the foolish wise (vii. 60, 6, 7); they know heaven and earth (vii. 60, 7). They are described as righteous, and as promoters of religious rites (or truth or righteousness), *ṛtāvṛdhā*, *ṛtāvānā*, *ṛta-sprśā*, *ṛtasya gopau* (i. 2, 8; i. 23, 5; i. 136, 4; ii. 27, 4; v. 63, 1; v. 65, 2; v. 67, 4; vii. 66, 13; viii. 23, 30; viii. 25, 8), as the lords of truth and light (i. 23, 5). They avenge sin and falsehood (ii. 27, 4; vii. 60, 5); the man who neglects their worship is seized with consumption (i. 122, 9). They are besought along with Aditi to remove the trespasses of their worshippers (ii. 27, 14); and along with Aryaman to give deliverance (x. 126, *passim*).²

¹ Compare Psalm lxxxix. 49.

² Like other gods, and in particular Indra, they are represented as drinking the soma juice, i. 136, 4; i. 137, 1 ff.; iv. 41, 3; iv. 42, 6; v. 64, 7; v. 71, 3; v. 72, 1-3; vi. 68, 10.

Mitra alone is celebrated in iii. 59. The following are some of the verses :—1. “Mitra, uttering his voice, calls men to activity.¹ Mitra sustains the earth and the sky. Mitra with unwinking eye beholds (all) creatures. Offer to Mitra the oblation with butter. 2. Mitra, son of Aditi, may the mortal who worships thee with sacred rites, have food. He who is protected by thee is neither slain nor conquered. Calamity does not reach him from near or from far. . . . 4. This Mitra, adorable, auspicious, a king, strong, and wise, has been born. May we abide in the favour and kindness of this object of our worship. This great Âditya, who rouses men to exertion (see v. 1), who is favourable to his worshipper, is to be approached with reverence. . . . 7. Mitra who by his greatness transcends the sky, and the earth by his renown. 8. The five classes of men have done homage to Mitra the powerful helper, who sustains all the gods.”

In his paper on “The highest gods of the Arian races” (*Journal of the German Oriental Society*, vi. p. 70 f.), Prof. Roth has the following ingenious and interesting observations on Mitra and Varuṇa :—“Within the circle of the Âdityas there subsists the closest connection between Mitra and Varuṇa, who are invoked more frequently together than Varuṇa is invoked singly. We find only one hymn in which Mitra is invoked by himself (iii. 59). The fact that this dual invocation is preserved in the *Zend Avesta*, in regard to Ahura and Mithra, though the position of both has become entirely altered, and Mithra is not even reckoned among the Amshaspands,—this fact proves how close the ancient connection of the two was, when it has been maintained even after the reason for it had ceased. . . . The essential character of the two gods, as distinguished from one another, is nowhere distinctly expressed in the hymns, and was in fact originally one which could not be defined with intellectual precision. But the stage of religious

¹ With this verse Roth (*Illustrations of Nirukta*, x. 22, p. 140) compares R. V. v. 82, 9, where it is said, “Savitr, who causes all creatures to hear his sound, and impels them.” Comp. v. 5 of the present hymn; and vii. 36, 2, referred to by Roth in the passage about to be quoted from him.

culture which lies before us in the Rig Veda, enables us to distinguish this difference as one already existing, viz., that Mitra is the celestial light in its manifestation by day, while Varuṇa, though the lord of all light and of all time, yet rules especially over the nightly heaven. A hymn of Vasishṭha (vii. 36, 2) says: 'One of you (Varuṇa) is the lord, and unassailable guide, and he who is called Mitra, (*i.e.* the friend) calls men to activity.' Here so much at least is declared (and the same thing is expressed in nearly the same words in other places), that the light of day, which awakens life, and brings joy and activity into the world, is the narrower sphere of Mitra's power; though, however, Varuṇa is not thereby relegated to the night alone, for he continues to be the lord and the first.

"Though therefore such representations as are expressed in Indian exegesis, (as for instance, when Sâyaṇa says on R. V. vii. 87, 1, that Varuṇa is the setting sun), are far too narrow and one-sided, they still contain some truth; and we may guess by what process they are to be developed. If Varuṇa is, as his name shews, that one among the lucid Âdityas whose seat and sphere of authority is the bright heaven, in whose bosom is embraced all that lives, and therefore also the remotest boundary, beyond which human thought seeks nothing further, then is he also one who can scarcely be attained either by the eye or by the imagination. By day the power of vision cannot discover this remotest limit, the bright heaven presents to it no resting place. But at night this veil of the world, in which Varuṇa is enthroned, appears to approach nearer, and becomes perceptible, for the eye finds a limit. Varuṇa is closer to men. Besides, the other divine forms which, in the clouds, the atmosphere, the rays of light, filled the space between the earth and yonder immeasurable outermost sphere, have disappeared: no other god now stands between Varuṇa and the mortal who gazes at him."

Whatever may be the success of the attempts made to identify any other of the Indian and Iranian gods with one another, there can at least be no doubt, from the correspondence of the two names, that the Vedic Mitra and the Mithra

of the Zend Avesta were originally the same deity. Accordingly, the late Dr. F. Windischmann, in his Dissertation on the Persian Mithra,¹ regards it as established that this god was known to the old Arian race before the separation of its Iranian from its Indian branch, though the conception of his character was subsequently modified by Zoroastrian ideas. That Mithra was worshipped in Persia in and previous to the age of Herodotus, is proved, as Windischmann remarks, by the common use of such names as Mitradatae and Mitrobates. Herodotus himself (i. 131) speaks of Mitra, not as a god, but as a goddess. But Xenophon (Cyrop. viii. 5, 53; Œc. iv. 24), and Plutarch (Artax. 4, and Alexand. 30) describes the Persians as swearing by the god Mitra. And Plutarch, in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, chap. xlvi., tells us that Zoroaster conceived of Mithra as standing intermediate between the deities Oromazes, the representative of light, and Ahrimanius, the representative of darkness and ignorance.² It is unnecessary to say anything further here of the Persian Mithra, the eventual introduction of whose worship into the West is matter of history.

Though Varuṇa is not generally regarded in the Rig Veda as the god of the ocean, he is yet, in the following passages, connected with the element of water, either in the atmosphere or on the earth, in such a way as may have led to the conception of him which is fully established in the later mythology.

i. 161, 14: "Desiring you, ye sons of strength, the Maruts proceed through the sky, Agni along the earth, this Vāta (wind) through the atmosphere, and Varuṇa along the waters, the ocean" (*adbhiḥ samudraiḥ*).

vii. 49, 2: "May the waters which are celestial, and those which flow, those which are dug up, and those which are self-produced, those which seek the ocean and are bright and purifying, preserve me! 3. May those (waters) in the midst of which king Varuṇa goes, beholding the truth and false-

¹ Mithra, ein Beitrag zur Mythengeschichte des Orients, in the Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Leipzig, 1857. See pp. 54 ff.

² Ibid, p. 56. This passage is also quoted, Sanskrit Texts, ii., 471.

hood of men, which drop sweetness and are bright and purifying, preserve me !”

vii. 64, 2 : “ Mitra and Varuṇa, ye two kings, protectors of the ceremonial, lords of the sea (or of rivers *sindhu-patī*), come hither ; send us food and rain from the sky,” etc.

In viii. 41, 8, Varuṇa appears to be called a hidden ocean (*samudro apīchyah*).

viii. 58, 12 : “ Thou art a glorious god, Varuṇa, into whose jaws the seven rivers flow, as into a surging abyss.”¹

Varuṇa is also connected with the sea or with the rivers in ix. 73, 3 ; ix. 90, 2 ; ix. 95, 4 ; and in Vâj. Sanh. x. 7, it is said that “ Varuṇa, the child of the waters, made his abode within the most motherly waters as in his home.” See also the third verse of the sixteenth hymn of the A. V. quoted above.

Prof. Roth gives (in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73) the following statement of the process by which he conceives that Varuṇa came in later times to be regarded as the god of the sea.

“ The hymns of the Veda give already indications of this development, since Varuṇa is in one place brought into the same connection with the waves of the sea, as Storm and Wind are with the atmosphere and the heaven, and as Agni is with the earth (i. 161, 14, translated above), and it is elsewhere said of him that he sinks into the sea (vii. 87, 6), while in another passage the rivers are described as streaming towards him (viii. 58, 12). When on the one hand the conception of Varuṇa as the all-embracing heaven had been established, and on the other hand the observation of the rivers flowing towards the ends of the earth and to the sea, had led to the conjecture that there existed an ocean enclosing the earth in its bosom—then the way was thoroughly prepared for connecting Varuṇa with the ocean. Another side of the affinity between the celestial and oceanic Varuṇa may be expressed in the words of Alexander von Humboldt, which perfectly coincide with the ancient Indian view : ‘ The two envelopments of the solid surface of our planet, viz., the aqueous and

¹ See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, pp. 70 f.

the atmospheric, offer many analogies to each other, in their mobility, in the phenomena of their temperature, and in the fact that their parts admit of being displaced: the depth both of the ocean and of the atmosphere is unknown to us.”

We have already seen that Varuṇa corresponds in name to the *’Ουρανός* of the Greeks. “Uranos,” as Prof. Müller observes,¹ “in the language of Hesiod, is used as a name for the sky; he is made or born that he should ‘be a firm place for the blessed gods.’”² It is said twice that Uranos covers everything (v. 127), and that when he brings the night, he is stretched out everywhere, embracing the earth.³ This sounds almost as if the Greek myth had still preserved a recollection of the etymological power of Uranos. For Uranos is the Sanskrit Varuṇa, and is derived from a root, *var*, to cover,” etc.

The parallel between the Greek Uranos and the Indian Varuṇa does not, as we have already seen, hold in all points. There is not in the Vedic mythology any special relation between Varuṇa and Pṛthivī, the earth, as husband and wife, as there is between Uranos and Gaia in the theogony of Hesiod; nor is Varuṇa represented in the Veda, as Uranos is by the Greek poet, as the progenitor of Dyaus (*Zeus*), except in the general way in which he is said to have formed and to preserve heaven and earth.

VI. INDRA.¹

Indra is, as Professor Roth remarks,⁵ the favourite national deity of the Aryan Indians. More hymns are dedicated to

¹ Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 41.

² Hesiod Theog. 126:—

Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑαυτῇ
’Ουρανὸν ἀστεροέειθ’, ἵνα μιν περὶ πάντα καλύπτου,
’Οφρ’ εἴη μακάρεσσι θεοῖς ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεῖ.

³ Ibid, v. 176:—

Ἦλθε δὲ Νύκτ’ ἐπείγων μέγας ’Ουρανός, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γαίῃ
Ἰμείρων φιλόδητος ἐπέσχετο καὶ ῥ’ ἐτανύσθη
Πάντῃ.

⁴ In my account of Varuṇa there is little of importance that had not been previously said by Professor Roth; but in this description of Indra there is a larger collection of particulars than I have noticed to have been brought together elsewhere

⁵ In his Lexicon, s.v. Indra

his honour than to the praise of any other divinity. Although, however, his greatness is celebrated in the most magnificent language, he is not regarded as an uncreated being. As I have already noticed, he is spoken of in various passages as being born, and as having a father and a mother (ii. 30, 2; iii. 48, 2 f.; iv. 18, 1 ff., and 10, 11; x. 73, 1, 10).

Thus in iv. 17, 4 it is said of him: "Thy father¹ was the parent of a most heroic son; the maker of Indra, he also produced the celestial and unconquerable thunderer,—was a most skilful workman." And again, vii. 20, 5: "A vigorous (god) begot him, a vigorous (son) for the battle: a heroic female (*nârî*) brought him forth, a heroic (son)," etc. Again, x. 120, 1: "That was the highest (being) in the world from which this fierce and impetuous (god) was born," etc. Again, vii. 98, 3: "When born, thou didst drink the soma-juice to (gain) strength: thy mother declared thy greatness."—x. 73, 1: "The Maruts here augmented Indra, when his opulent mother brought forth the hero."—x. 134, 1: "When thou, Indra, didst fill the two worlds like the dawn, a divine mother bore thee, a blessed mother bore thee, the great monarch of the great people" (? the gods). In x. 101, 12, as we have already seen, he is called the son of Nisṭigri. This word, as I have also noticed, is treated by the commentator as a synonyme of Aditi; but though Indra is always regarded as an Âditya in the later mythology, and even appears to be addressed in that character, along with Varuṇa, in vii. 85, 4, he is not commonly described as such in other parts of the Rîg Veda.²

In another place (iii. 49, 1) he is said to have been produced by the gods as a destroyer of enemies.

In the Puruṣa Sūkta (R. V. x. 90, 13) Indra is said to have sprung, along with Agni, from the mouth of Puruṣa. In one of the latest hymns (x. 167, 1) he is declared to have conquered heaven by austerity (*tapas*).

In vi. 59, 2, Indra and Agni are said to be twin brothers,

¹ In ii. 26, 3, Brahmanaspati is said to be the father of the gods.

² In iv. 26, 1, he is identified with Manu and Sūrya, and in viii. 82, 1, 4, and x. 89, 2, with Sūrya. In ii. 30, 1, he receives the epithet of *Savitṛ*.

having the same father, and whose mothers are, the one here, the other there. (The sense of this is not very evident.) In x. 55, 1 his brother's sons are mentioned.

In i. 82, 5, 6, Indra's wife is alluded to; and in a few passages (i. 22, 12; ii. 32, 8; v. 46, 8; x. 86, 11, 12) mention is made of a goddess Indrâṇî, who, from her name, must be the spouse of Indra.

Even as an infant Indra is said to have manifested his warlike tendencies. "As soon as he was born, the slayer of Vṛtra (Indra) grasped his arrow, and asked his mother, 'Who are they that are renowned as fierce warriors?' " (viii. 45, 4, 5; 66, 1, 2). He says of himself (x. 28, 6): "My father begot me (a god) without an enemy."

A variety of vague and general epithets are lavished upon Indra. He is distinguished as youthful, ancient, strong, agile (*nṛtu*, i. 130, 7; ii. 22, 4; vi. 29, 3; viii. 24, 9, 12; viii. 57, 7; viii. 81, 3), martial, heroic, bright, undecaying, all-conquering, lord of unbounded wisdom, and irresistible power and prowess, wielder of the thunderbolt, etc. etc. (i. 4, 8; i. 16, 9; i. 30, 6, 15; i. 61, 1; i. 81, 2, 7; i. 84, 2; i. 100, 12; i. 102, 6; i. 112, 23; i. 165, 6; ii. 21, 1-3; iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 7; iii. 45, 2; iii. 46, 1; vi. 18, 4; vii. 20, 4; vii. 22, 5; viii. 81, 8; viii. 84, 7 ff.; x. 103, 1 ff.). "He has vigour in his body, strength in his arms, a thunderbolt in his hand, and wisdom in his head" ¹ (ii. 16, 2; viii. 85, 3). "He assumes the most beautiful forms, and is invested with the ruddy lustre of the sun" (x. 112, 3). The Vedic poets have also described to us a few of the features, as they conceived them, of his personal appearance. The epithet which is most frequently applied to him is *suṣipra*, or *ṣiprin*, in the interpretation of which Sâyaṇa wavers between "the god with handsome cheeks or nose," and "the god with the beautiful helmet or turban" (i. 9, 3; i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; i. 101, 10;² iii. 30, 3; iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 17, 4; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 2, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; x. 105, 5).³

¹ On this use of *ṣiras*, the head, as the seat of intelligence, compare iii. 51, 12.

² Compare i. 30, 11.

³ A note on this word will be given when I come to treat of the Maruts.

He is also called *hari-ṣipra*, the ruddy-cheeked (x. 96, 4, 9, 12); *hari-keśa*, the ruddy- or golden-haired (x. 96, 5, 8); *hari-śmaśru*, the ruddy- or golden-bearded, or moustached (x. 96, 8). His beard is violently agitated when he puts himself in motion (ii. 11, 17; x. 23, 1, 4).¹ His whole appearance is ruddy or golden (*hari-varpas*, x. 96, 1 ff.). He is sometimes also described as *hiranyaya*, golden (i. 7, 2; viii. 55, 3), and as having golden arms (vii. 34, 4); and sometimes as of an iron hue (i. 56, 3; x. 96, 4, 8). His arms are long and far-extended (viii. 32, 10; viii. 70, 1). But his forms are endless; he can assume any shape at will (iii. 38, 4; iii. 48, 4; iii. 53, 8; vi. 47, 18). Carrying in his hand a golden whip (viii. 33, 11), he is borne on a shining golden car, with a thousand supports (i. 30, 16; i. 56, 1; vi. 29, 2; viii. 1, 24, 25; viii. 58, 16), which moves more swiftly than thought (x. 112, 2), and is drawn by two² tawny (ruddy, or golden) steeds, snorting, neighing, and irresistible (i. 30, 16; i. 81, 3); with flowing golden manes (i. 10, 3; i. 82, 6; viii. 17, 2; viii. 32, 29), hair like peacock's feathers (iii. 45, 1), and peacock's tails (viii. 1, 25), which rapidly traverse vast distances (ii. 16, 3). His car appears to have been formed by the R̥bhus (i. 111, 1; v. 31, 4). The following are some of the other texts which refer to Indra's chariot and horses: i. 6, 2; i. 16, 2; i. 55, 7; i. 84, 6; i. 100, 16; i. 101, 10; ii. 11, 6; viii. 82, 24; x. 44, 2. He is also said to be borne by the horses of the Sun (x. 49, 7), or by those of Vâta, the wind (x. 22, 4-6). The same deity, Vâyu, the wind, is said to have Indra for his charioteer, or companion in his car (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2; vii. 91, 6). The horses of Indra are declared to be yoked by the power of prayer (ii. 18, 3; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 17, 2), which is no doubt another mode of saying that it

¹ A beard is also assigned to Pūshan, who similarly shakes it (x. 26, 7).

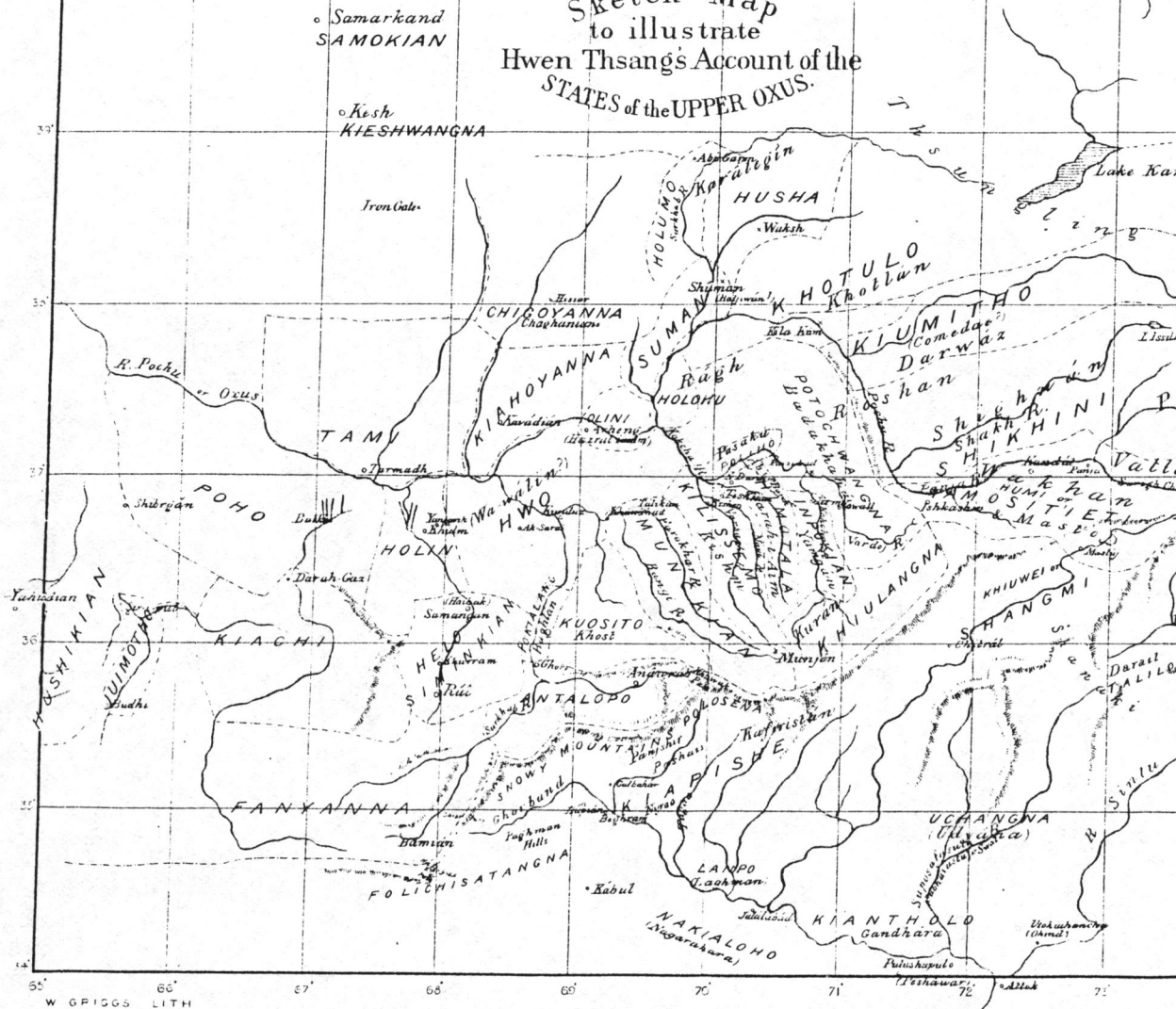
² In ii. 18, 4-7 Indra is invited to come with two, four, six, eight, ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety, or a hundred horses (compare viii. 1, 9) to drink the Soma-juice. In iv. 46, 3, a thousand horses are said to convey Indra and Vâyu. In viii. 1, 24, Indra's horses are said to be a thousand and a hundred. From such a text as iii. 35, 7, where Indra is informed that food has been provided for his horses, as well as soma-juice to fill his own belly (v. 6), it would appear that the worshipper had a perfect assurance of the god's presence. In another place, however (x. 114, 9), the enquiry is made (among several others denoting difficulty and mystery), "Who has perceived the two horses of Indra?"

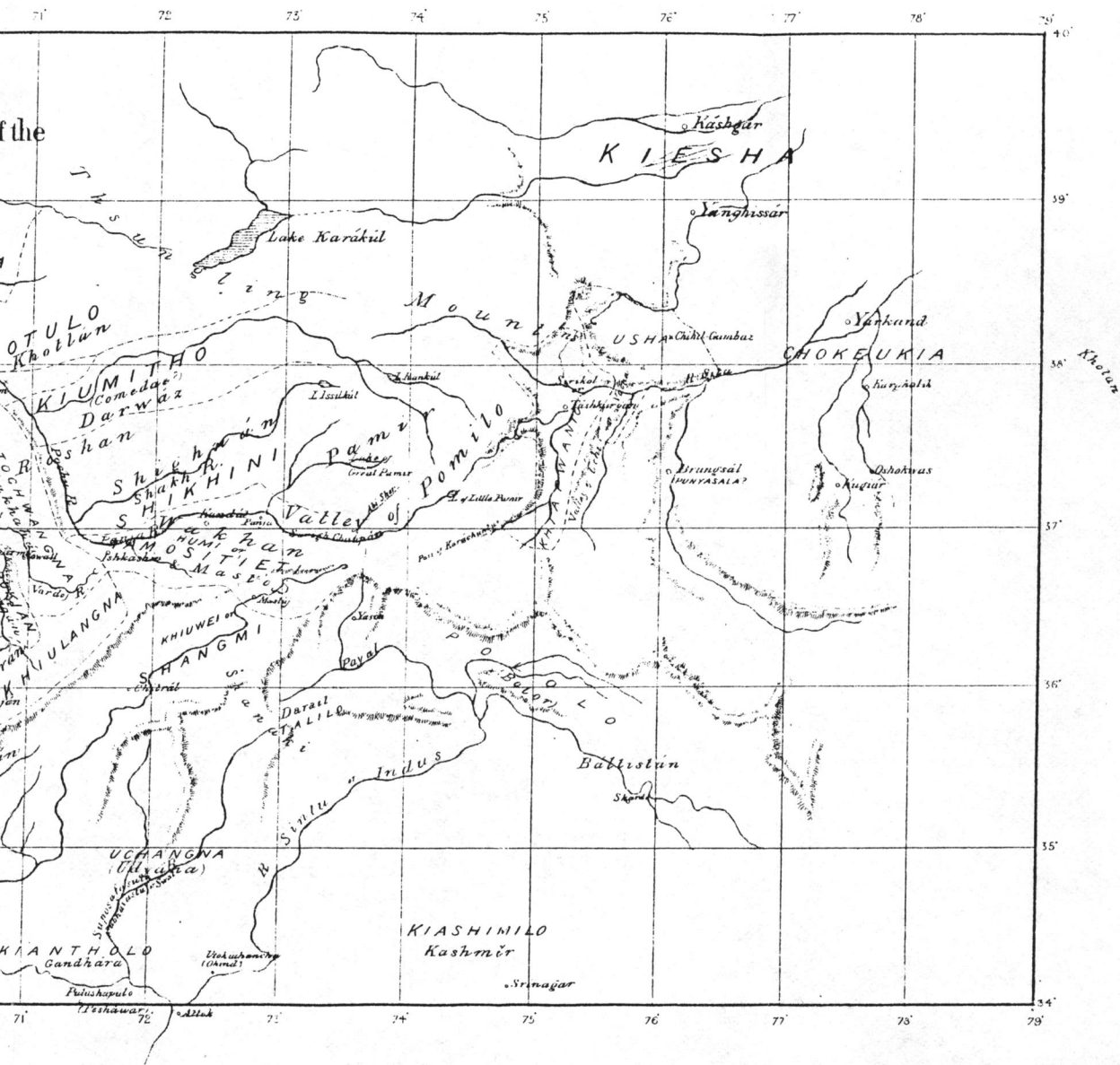
is in consequence of the importunity of his worshippers that he makes ready his chariot to come and receive their oblations, and fulfil their desires.

The thunderbolt of Indra is generally described as having been fashioned, or brought from heaven by Tvashtṛ, the artificer of the gods (i. 32, 2; i. 66, 6; i. 85, 9; i. 121, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3); but in other places it is declared to have been made and given to Indra by Kāvya Uṣanas. Its natural mode of production is alluded to in viii. 89, 9, where it is said: "The thunderbolt lies in the (aerial) ocean, enveloped in water." This thunderbolt is sometimes styled golden (i. 57, 2; i. 85, 9; viii. 57, 3; x. 23, 3), sometimes ruddy (*harita*, x. 96, 3); but more commonly it is said to be of iron (i. 52, 8; i. 80, 12; i. 81, 4; viii. 85, 3; x. 48, 3; x. 96, 3; x. 113, 5); sometimes it is described as four-angled (iv. 22, 2), sometimes as hundred-angled (vi. 17, 10), sometimes as hundred-jointed (*śataparran*, i. 80, 6; viii. 6, 6; viii. 65, 2; viii. 78, 3), and sometimes as having a thousand points (i. 80, 12; i. 85, 9; v. 34, 2; vi. 17, 10). Indra is in one place (i. 55, 1) represented as sharpening his own thunderbolt. In other passages this god is spoken of as armed with a bow and arrows (viii. 3, 9; viii. 45, 4; viii. 66, 6; x. 103, 2, 3). His arrows are described as golden (viii. 66, 11), as having a hundred points, and as being winged with a thousand feathers (viii. 66, 7). Indra is also declared to carry a hook (*ankuṣa*). Thus in viii. 17, 10 it is said: "May the hook be long wherewith thou reachest wealth to the worshipper who offers oblations." And similarly in Atharva Veda vi. 82, 3: "With that great golden hook of thine which confers wealth, O lord of Śachî (Indra), reach a wife to me who am longing for one."¹ Another text in which this word occurs is R. V. x. 134, 6 (=Sâma Veda ii. 441): "Thou, O wise (Indra), carriest a long hook like a spear, and hast held fast therewith, as a goat (catches) a branch with its fore foot." The word is also

¹ In these passages I follow Roth's explanation of *ankuṣa*, as given in his Lexicon, s. v. In his translation of this passage from the A. V. in Indische Studien v. 241, Professor Weber understands the word (*ankuṣa*) of a goad with which cattle are driven.

Sketch-Map
to illustrate
Hwen Tshang's Account of the
STATES of the UPPER OXUS.





found in x. 44, 9: "I carry to thee this well-made goad wherewith, O Maghavan, thou mayest rend the *Ṣaphlâruj* demons."¹

Invoked by his mortal worshippers, Indra obeys the summons, and speedily arrives in his chariot to receive their offerings. He finds food provided for his horses (iii. 35, 7), and large libations of soma-juice are poured out for himself to quaff. The following are a few of the numerous passages which refer to this worship of Indra: i. 4, 8; i. 32, 3; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 84, 1, 4; ii. 15, 1, 2; ii. 19, 1 ff.; ii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 36, 3; iii. 40, 1 ff.; iv. 16, 1 ff.; vi. 23, 1, 5, 6; vi. 27, 1 ff.; vi. 29, 4; vii. 22, 1 ff.; vii. 29, 1 ff.; viii. 3, 1; x. 104, 1 ff.; etc. etc. The gods are all described as hastening eagerly to partake of this beverage (viii. 2, 18); but Indra is particularly addicted to the indulgence (i. 104, 9; i. 175, 5; ii. 14, 1; vii. 33, 2; viii. 2, 4). Indeed, it would appear to be to him an absolute necessary of life, as his mother gave it to him to drink on the very day of his birth (iii. 32, 9, 10; iii. 48, 2, 3; vii. 98, 3). He is said to have drunk at one draught thirty lakes (or cups?) of soma (viii. 66, 4; compare vi. 17, 11, and viii. 7, 10). His worshippers invite him in the most naïve manner to drink freely (vi. 47, 6) and fill his belly by copious potations, and he speaks in similar language of having accepted the invitation (i. 8, 7; i. 104, 9; ii. 11, 11; ii. 14, 10; ii. 16, 2; iii. 36, 6-8; iii. 40, 5; iii. 47, 1; iii. 51, 12; viii. 1, 23; viii. 2, 1; viii. 17, 5-8; viii. 67, 7; viii. 81, 22-24; x. 28, 2; x. 104, 2).²

The hymns and prayers addressed to Indra are described as stimulating his energies and increasing his vigour (i. 52, 7; i. 54, 8; i. 81, 1; ii. 12, 14; iii. 32, 12, 13; iii. 34, 1; vi. 36, 2; viii. 6, 35; viii. 14, 5, 11); and the worshippers (as well as the gods) are said to place the thunderbolt in his hands and to assist its efficacy (i. 63, 2; ii. 11, 4; ii. 20, 8;

¹ I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for pointing out the sense of this verse. *Ṣaphlâruj* seems to mean a demon or an animal that destroys with its hoofs. The word occurs also in x. 87, 12, where it is an epithet of Yātudhâna, a demon, and must refer to some goblin which was conceived to tear with its hoofs.

² The soma-juice was also drunk by the worshippers themselves, and its effects on some of them are occasionally described. Thus in vi. 47, 3, it is said: "This (soma), when drunk, impels my voice; it stimulates the ardent thought." And

iii. 32, 12). The other deities, too, are described as infusing divine strength into Indra¹ (i. 80, 15; vi. 20, 2; x. 48, 3; compare x. 120, 3, and x. 56, 4), and as placing him in the van (i. 55, 3; i. 131, 1; vi. 17, 18; viii. 12, 22, 25). He is impelled and fortified by the Maruts (iii. 32, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 3, 4; vi. 17, 11; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1, 2; x. 113, 3).²

in viii. 48, 3, its elevating effect is still more distinctly told, in words which may be rendered as follows :

We've quaffed the soma bright,
And are immortal grown ;
We've entered into light,
And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
Or foeman vex us more ?
Through thee beyond alarm,
Immortal god, we soar.

Compare the curious parallel to this (already noticed in Sanskrit Texts, iii. 162) in the satirical drama of Euripides, the *Cyclops*, 578 ff., where Polyphemus exclaims in his drunken exultation :

Ὅ δ' οὐρανός μοι συμμετρυμένος δοκεῖ
Τῇ γῇ φέρεσθαι, τοῦ Διὸς τε τὸν θρόνον
Λεύσσω τὸ πᾶν τε δαϊμόνων ἄγρον σέβας.

¹ Indra on his side again is said to give divine power to the other gods (vi. 36, 1).

² In one place, however, (viii. 7, 31) the Maruts are asked what they were seeking when they deserted Indra, and who could then trust in their friendship. In another text (viii. 85, 7), on the contrary, it is said that all the other gods who had been Indra's allies, terrified by the blast of Vṛtra's breath, deserted Indra and fled (compare iv. 18, 11), while the Maruts, it must be supposed, stood firm, as Indra is advised to make friends with them, and then he should conquer all hostile armies. The commentator, however (like many other dogmatical theologians), finding it necessary to reconcile these conflicting statements, interprets viii. 7, 31 differently, and makes it mean, "When did you desert Indra? *i.e.* never," and quotes the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* iii. 20, which says the Maruts did not desert Indra; but said, "Smite, O lord, slay, play the hero."

In R. V. i. 32, 14, Indra himself is said to have become frightened after he had slain Vṛtra, and to have crossed ninety-nine rivers in his flight. Compare Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.* p. 547.

The *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* are also said to have assisted Indra (R. V. x. 131, 4, 5 = *Vāj. Sanh.* x. 33, 34). "You two, *Aśvins*, lords of splendour, drinking together the delightful draught (of soma), protected Indra in his achievements against the *Asura* *Namuchi*. 5. As parents a son, so ye two, *Aśvins*, by your wisdom and your energy, delivered thee, O Indra. When thou, O magnificent (Indra), didst drink the delightful draught (of soma), *Sarasvatī* waited upon thee with her powers." A story is told by the commentator on the *Vāj. Sanh.* x. 33, to explain these lines. *Namuchi*, it seems, was a friend of Indra; and taking advantage of his friend's confidence, he drank up Indra's strength along with a draught of wine and soma. Indra then told the *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* that *Namuchi* had drunk up his strength. The *Aśvins* and *Sarasvatī* in consequence gave Indra a thunderbolt in the form of foam, with which he smote off the head of *Namuchi*. The *Aśvins* then drank the soma, mixed with blood and wine, from the belly of *Namuchi*, and transferred it pure to Indra; and by transferring it they delivered Indra. The story is taken from the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* xii. 7, 3, 1 ff. (p. 934 Weber's ed.) and is the original version of those adduced by me elsewhere (*Sansk. Texts* iv. 222 and 420). As given in the *Brāhmaṇa*, it runs thus: "The *Asura* *Namuchi* carried off Indra's strength (*indriya*), the essence of food, and the draught of soma, together with wine. He (Indra)

Thus exhilarated and encouraged (ii. 11, 11; ii. 15, 1 ff.; ii. 19, 2; vi. 47, 1, 2; x. 112, 1), Indra hurries off, escorted by troops of Maruts, and sometimes attended by his faithful comrade Vishṇu (i. 22, 19; i. 85, 7;¹ iv. 18, 11; vii. 99, 4, 5; viii. 89, 12²), to encounter the hostile powers in the atmosphere who malevolently shut up the watery treasures in the clouds. These demons of drought, called by a variety of names, as Vṛtra, Ahi, Śushṇa, Namuchi, Pipru, Arbuda, Uraṇa, etc. etc. (i. 121, 9, 10; ii. 14, 4 ff.; viii. 32, 2, 3), armed, on their side also, with every variety of celestial artillery (i. 32, 13), attempt, but in vain, to resist the onset of the gods.³ Heaven and Earth quake with affright at the crash of Indra's thunder (i. 80, 11, 14; i. 100, 13; ii. 11, 9,

hastened to the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, and said: 'I have sworn to Namuchi, I will neither slay thee by day, nor by night, neither with club, nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand (*prthēna*), nor with fist, neither with dry nor with moist; and he has carried off that of mine; will ye recover it for me?' They answered: 'Let us have a share in it, and we will recover it.' Indra replied: 'It shall be common to us all; recover it therefore.' Then the Aśvins and Sarasvatī anointed the thunderbolt with the foam of the waters, saying, 'It is neither dry nor moist.' With that Indra struck off the head of Namuchi, when night was passing into dawn, and the sun had not yet risen, when (as he said) 'it was neither day nor night.' . . . When his head had been cut off, the soma remained mixed with blood; and they loathed it. But having perceived this draught of the two somas, according to the text, 'King Soma when poured out, is nectar,' they with this made the other mixed fluid palatable, and swallowed it."

In one place (x. 138, 6) Indra is said to perform his exploits alone. Compare i. 84, 7.

¹ Benfey, however, refers this passage, i. 85, 7, not to Indra, but to the soma.

² Compare i. 156, 5; vi. 17, 11; viii. 12, 27; viii. 66, 10; x. 113, 2; in which passages (as well as in separate hymns, i. 155; vi. 69), Indra and Vishṇu are connected. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following story about Indra and Vishṇu, v. 5, 5, 1 ff.:

"Formerly Vṛtra had within him all the Rk, Yajush, and Sāma verses. Indra was anxious to discharge a thunderbolt at him, (2) and said to Vishṇu: 'I shall shoot a thunderbolt at Vṛtra; follow after me.' 'So be it,' said Vishṇu, 'I will follow thee; smite him.' Indra then aimed a thunderbolt at Vṛtra, who was alarmed at it, and said, (3) 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Yajush verses. Indra then aimed a second thunderbolt at him, (4) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Rk verses. Indra then aimed a third thunderbolt at him, (5) when he said, 'I have this (source of) strength; shall I give it up to thee? but do not smite at me.' So he gave him the Sāma verses. . . . (7) Indra lifted up the thunderbolt; Vishṇu followed him."

Agni is in several places (i. 109, 5, 7, 8; iii. 12, 4, 6; x. 65, 2) associated with Indra as a thunderer, a destroyer of Vṛtra, and an overthrower of cities. Varuṇa, too, is in one place (iv. 41, 4) joined with Indra as a thunderer.

³ Vṛtra (?) is said, in ii. 30, 3, to have rushed upon Indra, clothed in a cloud, but to have been overcome.

10; vi. 17, 9), and even Tvashṭr himself, who forged the bolts, trembles at the manifestation of his anger (i. 80, 14). The enemies of Indra are speedily pierced and shattered by the discharge of his iron shafts, and even by their very sound (vi. 27, 4; viii. 6, 13). The waters, released from their imprisonment, descend in torrents to the earth, fill all the rivers, and roll along to the ocean (i. 34, 4, 12; i. 55, 6; i. 57, 6; i. 61, 10; i. 103, 2; ii. 11, 2; ii. 12, 12; ii. 14, 2; ii. 15, 3; ii. 19, 3; iii. 32, 6; iv. 17, 1; v. 32, 1; vi. 30, 4; viii. 65, 3; x. 133, 2). The gloom which had overspread the sky is dispersed, and the sun is restored to his position in the heavens (i. 32, 4; i. 51, 4; i. 52, 8; ii. 19, 3; x. 89, 2). Constant allusions to these elemental conflicts occur in nearly every part of the Rig Veda (i. 4, 8; i. 32, 1 ff.; i. 52, 1 ff.; i. 54, 4 ff.; i. 80, 1 ff.; i. 103, 1 ff.; ii. 11, 5 ff.; v. 32, 1 ff.; x. 87, 9; x. 113, 6), and the descriptions are sometimes embellished with a certain variety of imagery. The clouds are represented as mountains, or are variously characterized as the ancient or eternal (ii. 14, 6; viii. 17, 13; viii. 87, 6), the autumnal (i. 131, 4; vi. 20, 10), the moving (viii. 1, 28), and the iron- (ii. 20, 8) or stone-built (iv. 30, 20) cities of the Asuras (or atmospheric demons), which Indra overthrows (i. 51, 5; i. 63, 7; i. 103, 2; i. 130, 7; i. 174, 8; ii. 19, 6; ii. 20, 7; iii. 12, 6; iv. 26, 3; iv. 30, 13; vi. 61, 4; viii. 82, 2; x. 89, 7). He casts down his enemies when he discovers them on the aerial mountains (i. 32, 2; i. 130, 7; ii. 12, 11; iv. 30, 14; vi. 26, 5); or hurls them back when they attempt to scale the heavens (ii. 12, 12; viii. 14, 14). One of them he crushes under his foot (i. 51, 6), or pierces with ice (viii. 32, 26). He strikes off the head of Namuchi with the foam of the waters¹ (viii. 14, 13). One of his opponents is described as a monster with ninety-nine arms (ii. 14, 4), and another as having three heads and six eyes (x. 99, 6).

The growth of much of the imagery thus described is perfectly natural, and easily intelligible, particularly to persons who have lived in India, and witnessed the phenomena of the seasons in that country. At the close of the long hot weather,

¹ See above, in a preceding note.

when every one is longing for rain to moisten the earth and cool the atmosphere, it is often extremely tantalizing to see the clouds collecting and floating across the sky day after day, without discharging their contents. And in the early ages when the Vedic hymns were composed it was an idea quite in consonance with the other general conceptions which their authors entertained, to imagine that some malignant influence was at work in the atmosphere to prevent the fall of the showers of which their parched fields stood so much in need. It was but a step further to personify both this hostile power and the beneficent agency by which it was at length overcome. Indra is thus at once a terrible warrior and a gracious friend, a god whose shafts deal destruction to his enemies, while they bring deliverance and prosperity to his worshippers. The phenomena of thunder and lightning almost inevitably suggest the idea of a conflict between opposing forces: even we ourselves, in our more prosaic age, often speak of the war or strife of the elements. The other appearances of the sky, too, would afford abundant materials for poetical imagery. The worshipper would at one time transform the fantastic shapes of the clouds into the chariots and horses of his god, and at another time would seem to perceive in their piled-up masses the cities and castles which he was advancing to overthrow.

In numerous places of the Rig Veda, the highest divine functions and attributes are ascribed to Indra. A collection of the most striking of these passages will be found in my Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85-94.

I subjoin some additional passages :

i. 61, 14. "Through fear of him when he is born, the stable mountains, and heaven and earth, are agitated."

i. 100, 1. "The monarch of the great heaven and of the earth . . . 15. of whose godhead neither gods nor men have attained the limit, nor have the waters reached the end of his power," etc.

i. 101, 5. "He (Indra) who is the lord of the whole moving and breathing (world)," etc.

i. 165, 9. "There is nothing unconquered by thee: no

god like thee is known. No one to be born, or yet born, can rival thee. Do, great god, whatever thou wilt to do."

i. 173, 6. "Since Indra is so superior to men, heaven and earth do not suffice for his girdle," etc.

ii. 17, 5. "He has settled the ancient mountains by his might. He has supported the earth, the universal nurse. By his skill he has propped up the sky from falling."

iii. 30, 5. "When thou, O Maghavan, didst grasp even these two boundless worlds, they were but a handful to thee."¹

iii. 46, 2. "Thou, who alone art the king of the whole world, etc. . . . 3. Indra, in every respect unequalled, has surpassed all measures, has surpassed the gods: the impetuous deity has surpassed in greatness the heaven and the earth, and the broad and vast atmosphere."

iv. 17, 2. "At the birth of thee, the glorious one, the heaven trembled, and the earth, through fear of thy wrath," etc. (Compare iv. 22, 3, 4.)

v. 30, 5. "When thou wert born, the highest and supreme, bearing a name renowned afar, the gods were then afraid of Indra," etc.

v. 42, 6. "Let us declare the deeds of the unrivalled, victorious, undecaying god, who is attended by the Maruts. Neither have former nor later (men), nor has any recent (man) comprehended thy valour."

vi. 30, 1. "Indra has surpassed the heaven and the earth. The two worlds are but equal to the half of him."

viii. 6, 15. "Neither heavens, nor atmospheres, nor earths, have equalled Indra the thunderer in might."

viii. 12, 30. "When thou (Indra) didst sustain the sun, a brilliant light, in the sky, then all worlds yielded to thee."

viii. 14, 9. "By Indra the lights of the sky have been fixed and established. Those which are established he has not removed."

viii. 15, 2. "Whose great vigour supported the two worlds, the mountains, plains," etc.

viii. 85, 4. "I regard thee, Indra, as the most adorable of

¹ Compare Isaiah xl. 12.

the adorable, the caster down of the unshaken,¹ the most distinguished of living things, the chief of beings. . . . 6. Let us praise this Indra who produced these (worlds): all beings are inferior (or subsequent) to him."

viii. 86, 14. "All worlds, thunderer, both heaven and earth, tremble through fear of thee."

x. 44, 8. "He sustained the quaking mountains and plains: the sky resounded; he shook the atmosphere," etc. (Compare ii. 12, 2).

x. 54, 1. "(I celebrate,) Maghavan, thy glory in that through thy greatness the terrified worlds invoked thee. Thou didst deliver the gods, etc. . . . 2. When thou didst march on increasing in bulk, proclaiming thy strength amongst men, thy combats which they describe were (the proofs of) thy power; neither now nor before dost thou know of any enemy. 3. Which of all the seers before us have found out the end of all thy greatness? seeing that thou didst produce at once the father and the mother (heaven and earth)² from thine own body."

x. 89, 10. "Indra rules over the sky, Indra rules over the earth, Indra rules over the waters, and Indra rules over the mountains," etc.

In some places (iv. 19, 2; iv. 21, 10) he is called *samrāt*, or universal monarch, in other places (iii. 46, 1; iii. 49, 2; viii. 12, 14) *svarāt*, a self-dependent sovereign.

The preceding passages afford a fair specimen of the language in which Indra is most commonly celebrated in the hymns. It will be observed that the attributes which are ascribed to him are chiefly those of physical superiority, and of dominion over the external world. In fact, he is not generally represented as possessing the spiritual elevation and moral grandeur with which Varuṇa is so often invested. There are, however, many passages in which Indra's close relations with his worshippers are described, and a few in which an ethical character is attributed to him. Faith in him is confessed, or enjoined (i. 55, 5; i. 103, 5; i. 104, 6, 7; ii. 12, 5); and the reality of his existence and power is

¹ The Maruts are said to have the same power (i. 64, 3). ² See above, p. 57.

asserted in opposition to sceptical or faithless doubts (ii. 12, 5 ; ii. 18, 3, 4 ; viii. 89, 3 ff.). He is the friend, and even the brother, of his present worshippers, as he was the friend of their forefathers (ii. 18, 8 ; ii. 20, 3 ; iii. 53, 5 ; iv. 23, 6 ; vi. 18, 5 ; vi. 21, 5, 8 ; vi. 45, 1, 7 ; x. 22, 1, 2 ; x. 23, 7 ; x. 42, 2, 4, 11) ; but he desires no friendship with the man who offers no oblations (x. 42, 4). He is reminded that he has friends, while his adorers are friendless (viii. 21, 4). His friend is never slain or conquered¹ (x. 152, 1). It is he almost exclusively² who is invoked as the patron of the Âryyas, and their protector against their enemies, aerial or earthly³ (i. 51, 8, 9 ; i. 103, 3 ; i. 130, 8 ; ii. 11, 18 ; iii. 34, 9 ; iv. 26, 2 ; vi. 18, 3 ; vi. 25, 2 ; viii. 24, 27 ; viii. 87, 6 ; x. 49, 3 ; x. 86, 19 [?]). He is invoked by men like a father (x. 48, 1). He is embraced by the hymns of his votaries as a husband is embraced by his wives (x. 43, 1). His right hand is grasped by suppliants for riches (x. 47, 1). His powerful arms are resorted to for protection (vi. 47, 8). He is a preserver and deliverer easy to be entreated (vi. 47, 11). He is implored not to slay for one, two, three, or even for many, sins⁴ (viii. 45, 34). He richly rewards his faithful servants (ii. 11, 16 ; ii. 12, 6, 14, 15 ; ii. 19, 4 ; ii. 22, 3 ; v. 37, 1, 4, 5 ; x. 160, 3, 4), though he is sometimes naïvely importuned to be more prompt in his generosity (iv. 21, 9 ; x. 42, 3), and is even told that his worshipper, if in his place, and possessed of his means, would be more liberal, and not leave his friends in destitution (vii. 32, 18, 19 ; viii. 14, 1, 2 ; and see Müller's *Anc. Sansk. Lit.*, p. 545). He is supplicated

¹ The same is said of Mitra (iii. 59, 2) ; and of the Maruts (v. 54, 7).

² The Aśvins are, however, said, in i. 117, 21, to have created a great light for the Âryya. In vi. 21, 11, all the gods are said to have made Manu superior to the Dâsa ; Vishṇu is elsewhere said to have traversed the earth to give it for a domain to Manu (vii. 100, 4) ; and Agni is called the promoter of the Ârya (*âryasya vardhanam*, viii. 92, 1).

³ Indra is, however, also invoked for aid against enemies of the Aryan race, as well as against aliens (vi. 60, 6 ; x. 38, 3 ; x. 102, 3). Indra and Varuṇa are invoked together for the same purposes (vii. 83, 1). Manu is supplicated for the same objects (x. 83, 1). The gods (apparently those specified in the preceding verses) are said (x. 65, 11) to spread Aryan rites upon earth.

⁴ In reply to this, Indra is made to ask (v. 37) "What friend, O mortals, ever kills his friend without provocation ?" See *Nirukta* iv. 2 ; and *Roth's Illustrations*, p. 33.

for all sorts of temporal blessings, and among the rest for victory in war (ii. 12, 8, 9 ; and especially x. 103, 7 ff.). As a man in walking puts first one foot forward and then the other, so Indra by his power changes the relative positions of men ; he subdues the fierce and advances others : lord of both worlds, he is the enemy of the prosperous and ungodly man (vi. 47, 15, 16) ; he punishes sinners and those who offer no sacrifice (i. 131, 4 ; ii. 12, 10 ; v. 42, 9 ; viii. 59, 10, 11),¹ while he protects his own servants, and leads them into a "large room," into celestial light and security (vi. 47, 8).

Professor Roth is of opinion that Varuṇa belongs to an older dynasty of gods than Indra, and that during the Vedic age the high consideration originally attaching to the former was in course of being transferred to the latter. In support of his position that Varuṇa's worship was then declining, he urges the circumstance that in the tenth book of the Rīg Veda, which contains the latest productions of that period, there is not a single entire hymn addressed to that deity.²

This supersession of the one god by the other, Roth considers to be a result, or feature, of the gradual modification which the old Arian religion soon began to undergo after it had been transplanted into India. The more supersensuous or spiritual elements of this religion he thinks were preserved, though in a peculiar and somewhat altered form, in the Persian creed, which at the same time rejected almost entirely the gods representing the powers of nature, whom it had also inherited from an earlier age. The Indian faith, as found in the Rīg-veda, has, on the contrary, according to Roth, begun already to give the preference to these latter

¹ Compare R. V. viii. 21, 14 (=S. V. ii. 740), which is thus rendered by Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 513 f.): "Thou never findest a rich man to be thy friend ; wine-swillers despise thee. But when thou thunderest, when thou gatherest (the clouds), then thou art called like a father." Benfey renders the verse somewhat differently, thus : "Thou never takest for a friend the man who is merely rich ; he who is inflated with wine is a burthen to thee : with a mere sound thou smitest them, and then thou art supplicated like a father."

² See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 73 ; and Böhlingk and Roth's Sanskrit and German Lexicon, s.v. Indra. Professor Whitney adopts the same view (Journ. Amer. Orient. Society, iii. 327). Windischmann, in his Mithra, p. 54, extends the same remark to that god also. The passage is translated in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 295.

deities, to transfer to them an ever increasing dignity and honour, to draw down the divine life into nature, and to bring it ever closer to men. He finds proof of this in the development of the myth regarding Indra, a god who, in the earlier period of Arian religious history, either had no existence, or was confined to an obscure province. The Zend Avesta ascribes the function which forms the essence of the later myth concerning Indra to another god. This god Trita, however, disappears in the Indian mythology of the Vedic age, and is succeeded by Indra. And not only so, but towards the end of this period Indra begins to set aside even Varuṇa himself, the highest god of the ancient creed, from the position which is proved, partly by historical testimonies, and partly by the very conception of his character, to belong to him, and becomes, if not the supreme god, at least the national god, whom his encomiasts seek to elevate above the ancient Varuṇa. Thus, according to Roth, an old god, common to the Arians (*i.e.* the Persians and Indians), and perhaps also to the entire Indo-Germanic race, Varuṇa-Ormuzd-Uranos, is thrown into the background, and in his room Indra, a peculiarly Indian and national god, is introduced. (See the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 76 f.)

I am not aware that Roth has anywhere stated in detail any other proofs of the anteriority of Varuṇa to Indra.

The superior antiquity of the former may, however (as intimated in the passage just quoted from that writer), be argued from the fact, already noticed, of the coincidence of his name with that of the Greek *Οὐρανός*, which goes some way to prove that a deity of this name was worshipped by the entire Indo-Germanic race before its western branches were separated from the eastern, whilst we shall look in vain for any traces of the name Indra in the Greek mythology.

If, further, Roth's opinion¹ that there is not merely an analogy, but an actual historical connection between the Ādityas and the Amshaspands of the Zend Avesta, be well founded, it will be made out that Varuṇa, who is one of the Ādityas, must have been worshipped by the Aryans before

¹ Journ. Germ. Orient. Society, vi. 69, 70.

the separation of the Persian from the Indian branch of that family. And this conclusion will be strengthened if we adopt the suggestion of Professor Whitney,¹ that Ahura-Mazda is a development of Varuṇa.

I learn, however, from a communication with which I have lately been favoured by Professor Spiegel, of Erlangen, that that eminent Zend scholar is unable to recognize any similarity between Ahura-Mazda and Varuṇa, and considers the connection of the Amshaspands with the Âdityas to be very doubtful. And such of the grounds for regarding Varuṇa as an older deity than Indra as might otherwise have been derived from the Zend Avesta would be a good deal weakened if with the same scholar (Avesta, i. 10) we should look upon the Indra or Andra of the Zend books as standing for Indra, and as representing a deity who had at one time been an object of worship common both to the Indian and Persian Aryans, but who after the separation of the two tribes was degraded by the latter into an evil spirit. For while Indra would thus be proved to have been known before the period of that separation, he might also have been at one time a god held by both divisions of the Âryas in as much consideration as Varuṇa. I learn, however, from Professor Spiegel, that the materials afforded by the Zend books in reference to this name are not sufficient to afford a basis for any far-reaching conclusions.²

¹ Journal of the American Oriental Society, iii. 327. There is no doubt that the term *Asura*, "spirit," which is frequently applied to Varuṇa and to Mitra, and also to Indra and others of the Vedic gods, is the same word which, in its Zend form Ahura, makes up, with the addition of Mazda, the appellation of the supreme and benevolent deity of the Iranian mythology. Professor Müller regards the names Ahuro Mazdâo as corresponding to the Sanskrit Asuro-medhas, the "wise spirit" (Lectures on the Science of Language, 1st edition, p. 195). In regard to Ahura-Mazda and the Amshaspands, Professor Spiegel has, as he informs me, collected all the positive information he could obtain in the Avesta, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his translation, pp. iii. ff.

² The identification of Andra with Indra was, as Professor Spiegel tells me, first proposed by Burnouf (Yasna 526 ff.), where a translation is given of the passage in which Andra is mentioned. It is rendered thus by Spiegel himself, in his Avesta, i. 176: "I fight with Indra, I fight with Sauru, I fight with the Dâeva Naoghaithi, to drive them away from the dwelling, the village, the castle, the country." The name Indra or Andra, as Professor Spiegel further informs me, occurs only in one other passage (Westergaard, Zendavesta, p. 475) which he (Prof. S.) believes to be interpolated. It contains merely the name, and consequently throws no further light on the position of the god in the Avesta. The

Beyond the fact noticed by Roth, that Varuṇa is much less frequently mentioned in the last than in the earlier books of the Rig Veda, I have not observed in the hymns themselves anything that can be construed as a decisive proof that the worship of Indra was superseding that of Varuṇa during the period of their composition. Even in the earlier parts of the Veda the number of hymns addressed to the former god is much greater than that in which the latter is celebrated. But I have not discovered any expressions which would distinctly indicate that the popularity of the one was waning, and that of the other increasing. There are, however, some passages which, though they do not afford any clear indications in support of such a supposition, are, at all events, not inconsistent with its correctness. Thus there are a good many hymns in which Indra is associated with Varuṇa as an object of celebration, such as i. 17; iv. 41; iv. 42; vii. 82; vii. 83; vii. 84; vii. 85; etc; and this association of the two might have arisen from the worshippers of Indra desiring to enhance the dignity of that god by attaching him to the older and more venerable deity. The two gods are called *friends* (iv. 41, 3; vii. 34, 24); and this might bear the interpretation that some of their worshippers had been in the habit of regarding them as *rivals* and *enemies*. They are called the two monarchs, *saṃrājā*, and the supporters of all creatures¹ (i. 17, 1, 2); fixed in their designs, *dhr̥ta-vratā* (vi. 68, 10). Varuṇa is supplicated, along with Indra, to discharge a gleaming and violent thunderbolt (iv. 41, 4), though in most other places (see above) Indra alone is regarded as the thunderer. In iv. 42, 26,² the two gods appear to be identified. In vii. 82, 2, it is said that one of

information found in the later Parsee books regarding Indra or Andra is also meagre (compare Spiegel's Avesta, ii. 36). On this subject Professor Spiegel makes the following remarks, in the Introduction to the 3rd vol. of his Avesta, p. lxxi.: "It is said by some that the Andra of the Avesta is the Indra of the Vedas, that Nāgghaithya answers to Nāsātys, and Saurva to Sarva. Here from a real fact a quite incorrect conclusion is drawn. The names are the same in both religious systems; but how far the things resembled each other can never be shown in the same manner as the similarity of Soma and Haoma, etc.; for the Avesta tells us nothing more than the name of any of the beings in question."

¹ The same epithet *dhart̥trā charshayinām* is also applied to Mitra in v. 67, 2; and Varuṇa is called *charshani-dhrt̥*, "supporter of creatures," in iv. 1, 2.

² Compare R. V. iv. 26, 1; and i. 164, 46.

the two, Varuṇa, is called *samrāt*, monarch (as he is in various places, see above, p. 79), and the other, Indra, is called *svarāt*, independent ruler (iii. 46, 1, and elsewhere; see above), and their separate functions are described in other parts of this and the following hymns (vii. 82, 2, 5, 6; vii. 83, 9; vii. 84, 2; vii. 85, 3), as their joint action is in other verses. Thus they are said to have dug the channels of the rivers, to have impelled the sun in the sky (vii. 82, 3), and to have made all creatures (ibid. 5). All the other gods are said to have infused strength and vigour into these two in the highest heaven (ibid. 2). These passages are consistent with the supposition that the two gods were felt to have been rivals, and that the author of the hymn sought to reconcile their conflicting claims.

But Viṣṇu and Indra are also joined together in the same way in some hymns, i. 155; vi. 69; vii. 99, 4 ff.; as are also Agni and Indra in others, i. 21; i. 108; i. 109; iii. 12; v. 86; vi. 59.

A number of verses occur in different parts of the Rig Veda (viz. i. 133, 1; iv. 23, 7; v. 2, 3; vii. 18, 16; x. 27, 6; x. 48, 7) in which the epithet *anindra*, "one who is no worshipper of Indra," is employed; but it is not clear to whom it is applied, whether (1) to persons who were not worshippers of Indra in particular, as distinguished from other Aryan gods, or (2) to the aboriginal tribes who did not worship either him or any other Aryan god, or perhaps (3) to evil spirits as the enemies of Indra. In other places (as I have above noticed) we find sceptical doubts expressed regarding Indra, as in ii. 12, 5: "I have faith in him, that terrible one, regarding whom men ask, 'Where is he?' and declare of him that 'He is not;' . . . he, O men, is Indra;" and viii. 89, 3, 4: "Present to Indra a hymn soliciting food, a true hymn, if he truly exists. 'Indra does not exist,' says some one; 'who has seen him? whom shall we praise?' 'I am here, O worshipper,' [exclaims Indra]; 'behold me here; I surpass all creatures in greatness.'"

I have not noticed any passage in which any sceptical doubts are expressed regarding Varuṇa.

The twelfth hymn of the second book is devoted to the glorification of Indra. The first and second verses are as follows:—"He who, as soon as born, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force: at whose might the two worlds trembled, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra. He who fixed the quivering earth, who settled the agitated mountains, who meted out the vast atmosphere, who established the sky,—he, O men, is Indra." The following verses all end in the same way, by declaring that Indra is he who had performed the various acts, or possessed the various powers, which they specify. This might appear as a polemical assertion against gainsayers of Indra's claims to recognition as a fit object of worship.¹

In x. 48, 11, Indra is introduced as saying that "he, a god, does not obstruct the power (or glory) of the Âdityas, the Vasus, or the sons of Rudra, who have promoted his (Indra's) power, and made him unconquerable, irreversible, and unassailable."

In x. 49, 10, Indra says of himself that he had placed in the waters what even the gods and Tvashṭr could not place; and (v. 11) that he had eclipsed both gods and men in force.

In viii. 51, 2, it is said that, "without a fellow, unequalled by men, Indra, alone, unconquered, has surpassed in power former generations and all creatures." Here Prof. Aufrecht has conjectured (see Sanskrit Texts, iv., p. 91, note ⁷⁹) that the words *pūrvāḥ kṛśāḥ* may denote races of gods anterior to Indra. In v. 7 of the same hymn it is said that all the gods yield to Indra in valour and strength. In v. 12 the worshippers protest that their praises are true and not false; and declare that great destruction falls upon him who pours out no libations to Indra,² while he who does offer them is blessed with abundant light.

In iv. 30, 1 ff, Indra is described as having no superior or equal, as having headed all the gods in battle, and as having alone conquered all the enemies of the gods. And in the

¹ There is another hymn (x. 86), each verse of which ends with the words, "Indra is superior to all;" but the drift of the hymn is too obscure to admit of my determining whether it has any polemical tendency or not.

² This sentiment appears to be repeated from i. 101, 4.

following passages (formerly quoted in Sanskrit Texts, vol. iv. pp. 85 ff.), it is said that all of the gods are unable to frustrate the mighty deeds and counsels of Indra (ii. 30, 4); that no one, whether god or man, either surpasses or equals him (vi. 30, 4); that no one, celestial or terrestrial, has been born, or shall be born, like to him (vii. 32, 23); and that by battle he has acquired ample space (or wealth) for the gods (vii. 98, 3). And it is even said (i. 101, 3) that Varuṇa and Sûrya are subject to the command of Indra; and in x. 89, 8, 9, that the latter can destroy the enemies of Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (hereby evincing, of course, his superiority to those three gods).

All these texts, however, which are so laudatory of Indra, may be paralleled in the Rig-veda, not only by similar ones referring to Mitra and Varuṇa (as we have seen above), but also by a farther set of texts, in which other gods are magnified in the same style of panegyric. This is in accordance with the practice of the Indian poets to exaggerate¹ (in a manner which renders them often mutually inconsistent) the attributes of the particular deity who happens at the moment to be the object of celebration. Thus in ii. 38, 9, it is said that neither Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, nor Rudra can resist the ordinance of Savitr; in iv. 13, 2, that Varuṇa and Mitra conform to his will; and in vii. 38, 4, that the divine Aditi, and the kings Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman unite to magnify the same deity. Again, in i. 156, 4, it is declared that king Varuṇa and the Aṣvins submit to the power of Vishṇu. In i. 141, 9, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman are said to be eclipsed (?) by Agni when he blazes forth. In iv. 5, 4, the same god is besought to consume those enemies who menace the stable abodes² of Varuṇa and the wise Mitra. In i. 128, 7, Agni is said to deliver men from the evil (*dhûrtteḥ*) inflicted by the mighty god Varuṇa. In iv. 1, 2, 3, Agni is solicited to bring Varuṇa, his brother and friend; and in *cc.* 4 and 5, of the same hymn, to remove Varuṇa and to avert his anger.

If, therefore, we were to infer from passages like i. 101, 3

¹ See Müller's *Anc. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 532 ff. ² Ordinances.—Roth, *s.v.* *dhîman*.

(which declares Varuṇa and the Sun to be subject to Indra), that the worship of Indra was beginning to gain ground on that of Varuṇa, we should have, in like manner, to conclude from the other texts just cited, that the worship of Savitr was beginning to supersede not only that of Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, and Aditi, their mother, but also that of Rudra, and even of Indra himself.

VII. VÂYU.

Vâyu, the wind, as we have already seen, is often associated with Indra. (See also i. 2, 4; i. 14, 3; i. 23, 2; i. 135, 4 ff.; i. 139, 1; ii. 41, 3; iv. 46, 2 ff.; iv. 47, 2 ff.; v. 51, 4, 6 f.; vii. 90, 5 ff.; vii. 91, 4 ff.; x. 65, 9; x. 141, 4). The two gods appear to have been regarded by the ancient expositors of the Veda as closely connected with each other; for the Nairuktas, as quoted by Yâska (Nirukta, vii. 5), while they fix upon Agni and Sûrya as the representatives of the terrestrial and celestial gods respectively, speak of Vâyu and Indra in conjunction, as deities either of whom may represent those of the intermediate sphere.

Vâyu does not occupy a very prominent place in the Rîgveda. If we except the allegorical description in the Purusha Sûkta, x. 90, 13, where he is said to have sprung from the breath of Purusha; or unless we understand vii. 90, 3, to assert that he was produced by heaven and earth, there is no passage where the parentage of Vâyu is declared. He is, however, said to be the son-in-law of Tvashṭri (viii. 26, 21 f.), though his wife's name is not given. But few epithets are applied to him. He is called *darṣata*, "beautiful," or "conspicuous" (i. 2, 1), and *supsarastama*, "most handsome in form" (viii. 26, 24). He is described as *krandad-ishṭi*, "rushing noisily onwards" (x. 100, 2). Together with Indra, he is designated as touching the sky, swift as thought, wise, thousand-eyed (i. 23, 2, 3). He moves in a shining car (iv. 48, 1; i. 134, 1; i. 135, 4; iv. 47, 1), drawn by a pair of red or purple horses (i. 134, 3). His team, however, is often said to consist of ninety-nine, of a hundred, or even of a thousand horses, swift as thought (i. 135, 1, 3; ii. 41, 1; iv. 48, 4, 5;

vii. 91, 6; vii. 92, 1, 5). As before mentioned, Indra and Vâyu frequently occupy the same chariot (iv. 46, 2; iv. 48, 2; vii. 81, 5), which has its framework of gold, which touches the sky, and is drawn by a thousand horses (iv. 46, 3, 4). Vâyu, like the other gods, is a drinker of soma. In fact, he alone, or in conjunction with Indra, seems to be entitled to the first draught of this libation (i. 134, 1; i. 135, 1, 4; iv. 46, 1; v. 43, 3; vii. 92, 2; viii. 26, 25). It is remarkable that Vâyu is but rarely connected with the Maruts or deities of the storm; but in one place (i. 134, 4) he is said to have begotten them; and in another place (i. 142, 12) to be attended by Pûshan, the Maruts and the Viṣve devás.

The following hymns are addressed to Vâta (another name of the god of the wind). The imagery in the first is highly poetical :

x. 168. "1. (I celebrate) the glory of Vâta's chariot; its noise comes rending and resounding. Touching the sky, he moves onward, making all things ruddy: and he comes propelling the dust of the earth. 8. The gusts of the air rush after him, and congregate in him as women in an assembly. Sitting along with him on the same car, the god, who is king of this universe, is borne along. 3. Hasting forward, by paths in the atmosphere, he never rests on any day. Friend of the waters, first-born, holy, in what place was he born? whence has he sprung? 4. Soul of the gods, source of the universe, this deity moves as he lists.¹ His sounds have been heard, but his form is not (seen): this Vâta let us worship with an oblation."

x. 186. "1. Let Vâta, the wind, waft to us healing,² salutary, and auspicious, to our heart: may he prolong our lives. 2. And, Vâta, thou art our father, our brother, and our friend: cause us to live. 3. From the treasure of immortality, which is deposited yonder in thy house, O Vâta, give us to live."

Here the same property is ascribed to Vâta which is elsewhere ascribed to Rudra, that of bringing healing.

¹ Compare St. John's Gospel, iii. 8: "The wind bloweth where it listeth," etc.

² Compare i. 89, 4.

VIII. THE MARUTS.

The Maruts, or Rudras, the gods of the tempest, 'who form a large troop (viii. 85, 8), are the sons of Rudra and Pṛṣni¹ (i. 64, 2; i. 85, 1; i. 114, 6; ii. 33, 1; ii. 34, 2; v. 42, 15; v. 52, 16; v. 60, 5; vi. 50, 4; vi. 66, 3; vii. 56, 1; viii. 7, 3, 17; viii. 20, 17). They are, however, said to be like sons to Indra (i. 100, 5); and they are also called *sindhu-mâtaraḥ*, children of the ocean, whether we suppose this to be the aerial or terrestrial sea (x. 78, 6), and sons of heaven, *divac-putrâsaḥ* (x. 77, 2). They are frequently associated with Indra, as we have already seen (compare i. 23, 7, 8; i. 100, 1 ff.; i. 101, 1 ff.; i. 169, 1 ff.; iii. 32, 3, 4; iii. 35, 9; iii. 47, 1 ff.; iii. 51, 7 ff.; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; v. 57, 1; vi. 19, 11; vii. 32, 10; vii. 42, 5; viii. 36, 1 ff.; viii. 52, 10; viii. 65, 1 ff.; viii. 78, 1 ff.; viii. 85, 7 ff.; viii. 7, 24; x. 73, 1 ff.; x. 99, 5; x. 113, 3); but they are also celebrated separately in numerous hymns (as i. 37; i. 38; i. 39; i. 64; i. 85; i. 86; i. 87; i. 88; i. 166; i. 167; i. 168; iii. 52; iii. 53; iii. 54; iii. 55; iii. 56; vii. 56; vii. 57; vii. 58, etc.) They are favourite deities of some of the rishis, and are often praised in highly poetical strains. They are like blazing fires, free from soil, of golden or tawny hue, and of sunlike brilliancy (vi. 66, 2; vii. 59, 11; viii. 7, 7). They are also compared to swans with black plumage (vii. 59, 7); and are sometimes said to be playful as children (i. 166, 2; x. 78, 6). They are thus apostrophized in v. 54, 11: "Spears rest upon your shoulders, ye Maruts; ye have anklets on your feet, golden ornaments on your breasts, fiery lightnings in your hands, and golden helmets² on your heads." (Compare i. 64, 4; i. 166, 10;

¹ This word is perhaps a personification of the speckled clouds. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, x. 39, p. 145.

² In ii. 34, 3, the epithet of *hiranya-ṣiprâḥ* is applied to these deities. This Sāyaṇa explains by *suvarṇamaya-ṣirastrāṇāḥ*, "with golden helmets." That one sense of *ṣiprâ* (feminine) is "a head-dress, or a helmet," is settled by v. 54, 11, where the words are *ṣiprâḥ ṣirśhasu vitatâḥ hiraṇyayih*, "golden helmets are stretched (or placed) upon your heads;" and also by viii. 7, 25, where it is said, *ṣiprâḥ ṣirśhan hiraṇyayih . . . vyajāta śriye*, "they displayed for ornament golden helmets on their heads." In the first of these passages, Sāyaṇa interprets *ṣiprâḥ* as meaning a "turban," in the second a "helmet." This shews that *ṣiprâḥ*, in these texts at least, must mean something external to the head, and not a feature of

ii. 34, 2, 3; v. 53, 4; v. 55, 1; v. 57, 5, 6; v. 58, 2; vii. 56, 11, 13; viii. 7, 25; viii. 20, 4, 11, 22; x. 78, 2). They are armed with golden weapons, and with lightnings, dart thunderbolts, and are borne along with the fury of the winds (v. 54, 3; viii. 7, 4, 17, 32; x. 78, 2, 3); they split Vṛttra into fragments (viii. 7, 23); they are clothed with rain (v. 57, 4); they distribute showers all over the world, and avert heat (v. 54, 1; v. 55, 5; viii. 7, 4, 16). They open up a path for the sun (viii. 7, 8). They shake the mountains, the earth, and both the worlds (i. 37, 8; i. 39, 5; i. 87, 3; v. 54, 1, 3; v. 60, 2, 3; vii. 57, 1; viii. 7, 4; viii. 20, 5). They overturn trees, and, like wild elephants, they devour the forests (i. 39, 5; i. 64, 7). They have iron teeth (i. 88, 5); they roar like lions (i. 64, 8); all creatures are afraid of them (i. 85, 8). Their weapons are of various descriptions—spears, bows, quivers, and arrows (i. 37, 2; v. 57, 2). They are swift as thought (i. 85, 4). They ride, with whips in their hands (i. 37, 3), in golden cars (v. 57, 1),

the face, as it is often interpreted, when applied to Indra. Thus *śusipra* is explained by Sāyana on i. 9, 3, as meaning *śobhana-hano śobhana-nāsika vā*, "having handsome jaws, or a handsome nose;" since Yāska, he says, makes *śipra* to mean one or other of these two parts of the face (Nirukta, vi. 17). The same explanation is given by Sāyana on i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; and i. 101, 10. On iii. 30, 3, however, the same commentator says: *śipra-śabdena śirastrāṇam abhidhiyate | śobhana-śirastrāṇopetaḥ | yadvā śobhana-hanumān |* "By the word *śipra*, a helmet is signified. *Śusipraḥ* therefore means 'having a handsome helmet,' or it means 'having handsome jaws.' On iii. 32, 3; iii. 36, 10; viii. 32, 4, 24; viii. 33, 7; viii. 55, 4; he returns to the latter interpretation. On viii. 17, 4; viii. 81, 4; viii. 82, 12; he again gives the alternative explanation as on iii. 30, 3.

Professor Aufrecht has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *śipra* and its derivatives, of which the following are the most important parts: *Śipra* in the dual means jaws (i. 101, 10; iii. 32, 1; v. 36, 2; viii. 65, 10; x. 96, 9; x. 105, 5). *Śipravat* means "having large jaws" (vi. 17, 2). *Śiprin* means the same, and is used only of Indra (i. 29, 2; i. 81, 4; iii. 36, 10, etc. etc). *Śiprinī*, as Prof. Aufrecht considers, means "a draught (imbibed by the jaws);" and he translates i. 30, 11, thus: ("Receive) our draughts, thunderer, soma-drinker, friend of thy friends the soma-drinkers." *Śiprinīrat* (x. 105, 5) will thus be "he who possesses the draught." *Śiprah* in v. 54, 11, and viii. 7, 25, are "visors," the two parts of which are compared to two jaws. *Ayāḥ-śipra*, used of the Itbhus (iv. 37, 4) will consequently mean "having iron visors." The word occurs in other compounds, to which I need not here refer.

I am not sufficiently acquainted with the armour of India to know whether any thing like a visor was or is used by warriors in that country. It is, however, customary for the Hindus in particular circumstances (as for protection from the heat, and also from the cold, and for purposes of disguise) to wear their turbans not only wrapped horizontally round their heads, but also perpendicularly under their chins and over the tops of their heads, thus enclosing the sides of their faces

with golden wheels (i. 64, 11 ; i. 88, 5), drawn by ruddy and tawny horses (with which the chariots are said to be winged), and flashing forth lightnings (i. 88, 1, 2 ; v. 57, 4). The animals by which these chariots are described as being drawn are designated in some places by the epithet *pr̥shatīh* (i. 37, 2 ; i. 39, 6 ; i. 85, 5 ; viii. 7, 28), which Prof. Wilson—following Sāyaṇa on Rig-veda, i. 37, 2¹—renders by “spotted deer.” But in i. 38, 12, the horses (*aṣṭāsaḥ*) of the Maruts are spoken of; as is also the case in viii. 7, 27, where they (the horses) are called *hiraṇya-pāṇibhiḥ*, “golden-footed;” though in the next verse (28) the *pr̥shatīh* are again spoken of, as well as a *prashṭīh rohitaḥ*, which Sāyaṇa understands to denote either a swift buck, or a buck yoked as a leader to the does. In i. 87, 4, the troop of Maruts itself receives the epithet *pr̥shad-aṣva*, “having spotted horses.” This is, indeed, explained by Sāyaṇa in the sense of “having does marked with white spots instead of horses;”² but in his notes on v. 54, 2, 10, and v. 55, 1, where the Maruts’ horses are again spoken of, he does not repeat this explanation. In v. 55, 6, where the Maruts are described as having yoked *pr̥shatīh* (feminine) as horses (*aṣṛān*, masculine) to their chariots, Sāyaṇa says we may either understand “spotted mares,” or suppose the word “horse” to stand for doe (*pr̥shatīh* . . . *pr̥shad-varṇā vadavāh* | *sāraṅgī vā atra aṣṭa-ṣabda-vāchyā*). In his note on *pr̥shatibhiḥ* in ii. 34, 3, he says they may be either does marked with white spots, or mares; and he interprets *pr̥shatīh* in v. 57, 3, by *aṣṛāh*, mares. Professor Aufrecht, who has favoured me with a note on the subject of the word *pr̥shatīh*, is of opinion, that, looking to all the passages where it occurs in connection with the Maruts, it must mean mares.³

¹ *Pr̥shatyō vindu-yuktā mṛgyo Marut-vāhana-bhūtāh* | “*pr̥shatyō Marutām*” *iti Nighaṇṭvā uktatvāt* | See also his note on the same word in ii. 34, 3.

² Bentley, in his translation of this verse (*Orient. und Occident*, ii. 250) retains the sense of antilopes. In vii. 56, 1, the Maruts are styled *sraṣvāh*, “having good horses,” which Sāyaṇa explains *śobhana-vāhāh*, “having good carriers.”

³ Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out a number of passages regarding the sense of the words *pr̥shad-aṣva* and *pr̥shat*, as Rāyamukūṭa on Amara, the Vāṅ. Sanh. xxiv. 11, 18; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, v. 5, 1, 10, and v. 6, 2, 9. He has also indicated another verse of the Rig-veda (v. 58, 6) where *pr̥shatibhis* in the feminine is joined with *aṣṛāh* in the masculine; and remarks that viii. 54, 10, 11, could not

Some traces are perceptible in the Rig-veda of a dispute between the votaries of the Maruts and those of Indra in regard to their respective claims to worship. Thus in hymns 165 and 170 of the first book of the R.V. we find dialogues in the first case between Indra and the Maruts, and in the second between Indra and Agastya, regarding the respective claims of these deities to worship. In i. 165, 6, Indra asks, "Where was your inherent power, ye Maruts, when ye left me alone¹ in the conflict with Ahi? It was I who, fierce, strong, and energetic, overturned my enemies with my shafts." The Maruts rejoin: "7. Vigorous god, thou hast done great things with us for thy helpers, through our equal valour; for, O strong Indra, we Maruts by our power perform many great exploits when we desire." Indra replies: "8. By my own prowess, Maruts, I slew Vṛtra, mighty in my wrath," etc.

Of hymn i. 170, the Nirukta says, i. 5, that "Agastya, having prepared an oblation for Indra, desired to give the Maruts also a share in it. On which Indra came and complained." The Maruts reply, v. 2: "Why dost thou seek to kill us, Indra? The Maruts are thy brothers. Act amicably towards them. Do not kill us in the fray."² Indra then says to Agastya, v. 3: "Why dost thou, brother Agastya, being our friend, disregard us? For we know how thy mind is. Thou wilt not give us anything."—(See Roth's *Elucidations of Nirukta*, p. 6.)

In the following passages the Maruts are said to worship Indra, viz.: iii. 32, 3; v. 29, 1, 2, 6; vi. 17, 11; viii. 3, 7; viii. 78, 1; viii. 78, 3.

IX. SŪRYA AND SAVITR.

The great powers presiding over day and night are, as we have seen above, supposed by the Indian Commentators to be personified in Mitra and Varuṇa. But these deities, and

mean that the rishi received a thousand antelopes. Prof. Roth appears, from a remark under the word *eta* (vol. i. p. 1091 of his *Dict.*) to regard *prshatyah* as a kind of deer.

¹ See above, p. 94.

² See Roth on this text, *s.v.* *kalp*.

especially Varuṇa, as described in the Veda, are far more than the mere representatives of day and night. They are also recognized as moral governors, as well as superintendents of physical phenomena. There are two other gods (also, as has been already noticed, reckoned in a few passages as belonging to the Âdityas),¹ who are exact personifications of the sun, viz.: Sârya and Savitr̥. It is under these two different appellations that the sun is chiefly celebrated in the Rig Veda; and although it may be difficult to perceive why the one name should be used in any particular case rather than the other, the application of the names may perhaps depend upon some difference in the aspect under which the sun is conceived, or on some diversity in the functions which he is regarded as fulfilling. Different sets of hymns are, at any rate, devoted to his worship under each of these names, and the epithets which are applied to him in each of these characters are for the most part separate. In some few places, both these two names, and occasionally some others, appear to be applied to the solar deity indiscriminately, but in most cases the distinction between them is nominally, at least, preserved.

The principal hymns, or portions of hymns, in praise of Sârya are the following:—i. 50, 1-13; i. 115, 1-6; iv. 13, 1-3; iv. 45, 6; v. 5, 6, 8, 9; v. 45, 9, 10; v. 59, 5; vii. 60, 1-4; x. 37, 1 ff. He is treated in Nirukta, xii. 14-16.

Sârya is described as moving on a car, which is sometimes said to be drawn by one, and sometimes by several, or by seven fleet horses² (i. 115, 3, 4; vii. 60, 3; vii. 63, 2; ix. 63, 8; x. 37, 3; x. 49, 7. His path is prepared by the Âdityas, Mitra, Aryaman, and Varuṇa (i. 24, 8; vii. 60, 4; vii. 87, 1). Pûshan goes as his messenger with his golden ships, which sail in the aerial ocean (vi. 58, 3). He is the preserver and soul of all things stationary and moving

¹ In x. 88, 11, Sârya is styled Âditeya; and in viii. 90, 11, Âditya. In other places, viii. 35 ff. and 13 ff., he is mentioned separately from the Âdityas; but so also is Varuṇa in viii. 35, 1.

² Indra is said to traverse the sky with the sun's horses (x. 49, 7). Compare Ovid's description of Phaethon's horses, *Metam.* ii. 153.

(i. 115, 1; vii. 60, 2) and the vivifier (*prasavitâ*¹) of men (vii. 63, 2, 4). He is far-seeing, all-seeing;² beholds all creatures and the good and bad deeds of mortals (iv. 1, 7; vi. 51, 2; vii. 35, 8; vii. 60, 2; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1, 4; x. 37, 1). He is the eye³ of Mitra and Varuṇa (i. 115, 1;⁴ vi. 51, 1; vii. 61, 1; vii. 63, 1; x. 37, 1. Compare vii. 76, 1; x. 10, 9; x. 16, 3). He knows the three spheres and separate races of the gods (vi. 51, 2). He upholds the sky (x. 85, 1). He rolls up darkness like a hide (vii. 63, 1). He is said to be, through his greatness, the divine leader or priest (*asuryaḥ purohitaḥ*) of the gods (viii. 90, 12). In viii. 82, 1, 4, he is identified with Indra. In x. 170, 4, the epithets *viṣvakarman*, the architect of the universe, and *viṣvadevyarat*, the sovereign deity, are applied to him (as in viii. 87, 2, Indra also is styled *viṣvakarman* and *viṣvadevaḥ*). In vii. 60, 1, and vii. 62, 2, he is said to declare men sinless to Mitra, Varuṇa, etc.

In many passages, however, the dependent position of Sūrya is asserted. Thus he is said to have been produced, or caused to shine, or to rise, or to have his path prepared, etc., by Indra (ii. 12, 7; iii. 31, 15; iii. 32, 8; iii. 44, 2; iii. 49, 4; vi. 17, 5; viii. 78, 7;⁵ viii. 87, 2; x. 171, 4); by Indra and Soma (vi. 72, 2); by Agni (x. 3, 2; x. 88, 6; x. 156, 4); by Soma (vi. 44, 23; ix. 63, 7; ix. 75, 1; ix. 86, 29; ix. 96, 5; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3); by Dhâtr (x. 190, 3); by Varuṇa (i. 24, 8; vii. 87, 1); by Mitra and Varuṇa (iv. 13, 2; v. 63, 4, 7; vii. 82, 3); and by the Angirases through their rites (x. 62, 3). He is declared to be god-born (x. 37, 1), to be the son of the sky (ibid.), to have been drawn by the gods from the ocean where he was hidden (x. 72, 7), to have been

¹ This word and others derived from the same root *sū*, are, as we shall shortly see, very frequently applied to Savitr. In x. 66, 2, the gods are said to be *Indra-prasūtāḥ*.

² The classical poets also describe the sun as all-seeing. See Æschylus, Prom. 91. Homer, Iliad, iii. 277; xiv. 344; Odyssey, viii. 270. Ovid, Metam. iv. 171 f., 196 f.

³ Compare the expression of Hesiod, Opp. et Dies, 265 (quoted by M. Müller, Oxford Essays for 1856, p. 53), *πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ πάντα νοήσας*. κ.τ.λ.

⁴ In this verse he is said to be also the eye of Agni.

⁵ In his note on this passage (viii. 78, 7) Sāyana relates a legend, that formerly the Panis had carried off the cows of the Angirases, and placed them on a mountain enveloped in darkness, when Indra, after being lauded by the Angirases, and supplicated to restore the cows, caused the sun to rise that he might see them.

placed by the gods in heaven (x. 88, 11, where he is identified with Agni); and to have sprung from the eye of Purusha (x. 90, 13). He is also said to have been overcome by Indra (x. 43, 5; iv. 30, 6), who carried off one of the wheels of his chariot (i. 175, 4).¹

Ushas is in one place said to be his wife (vii. 75, 5); while in another passage (vii. 78, 3) the Dawns are by a natural figure declared to produce him, and in a third passage to reveal him (vii. 80, 2).

The Atharva Veda contains a long hymn to Sûrya, xiii. 2.

The Mahâbhârata (iii. 166 ff.) has a hymn to the same god, in which he is styled the eye of the world, and the soul of all embodied beings (v. 166); and his divine chariot is referred to (v. 170).

SAVITR.

The hymns which are devoted to the celebration of Savitr are the following: i. 35; ii. 38; iv. 53; iv. 54; v. 81; v. 82; vii. 38; vii. 45; vii. 63; with many detached passages and verses, such as, i. 22, 5-8; iii. 56, 6, 7; iii. 62, 10-13, etc. etc.

The epithets, characteristics, and functions of this god, as described in the Rig Veda, are as follows:

He is pre-eminently the golden deity, being *hiranyâksha*, golden-eyed (i. 35, 8); *hiranya-pâni*,² *hiranya-hasta*, golden-handed (i. 22, 5; i. 35, 9, 10; iii. 54, 11; vi. 50, 8; vi. 71, 4; vii. 38, 2); *hiranya-jihva*, golden-tongued (vi. 71, 3); *su-jihva*, beautiful-tongued (iii. 54, 11; vii. 45, 4); *mandra-jihva*, pleasant-tongued (vi. 71, 4). He invests himself with golden or tawny mail (*piṣangam drâpim*, iv. 53, 2); and assumes all forms (v. 81, 2). He is also *harikeṣa*, the yellow-haired (x. 139, 1). Luminous in his aspect, he ascends a golden car

¹ See iv. 17, 14; vi. 56, 3.

² See the tasteless explanations of this epithet given by the commentator and the Kaushîtaki Brâhmana, as mentioned in Rosen's and Wilson's notes on i. 22, 5; and see also Weber's Ind. Studien, ii. 306. The same epithet is given to Savitr in the Vâj. Sanhitâ, i. 16, where see the commentary. Savitr is also called *prthupâni*, broad-handed (ii. 38, 2), and *supâni*, beautiful-handed (iii. 33, 6; vii. 45, 4). Tvashtr, too, is called *supâni* (iii. 54, 12), as are also Mitra and Varuṇa (iii. 56, 7).

(i. 35, 2, 4, 5) drawn by radiant horses (*ib. vv.* 3, 5; and vii. 45, 1); and beholding all creatures, he pursues an upward and a downward path (i. 35, 2, 3). Surrounded by a golden lustre (iii. 31, 8; vii. 38, 1; vii. 45, 3), he illuminates the atmosphere, and all the regions of the earth (i. 35, 7, 8; iv. 14, 2; iv. 53, 4; v. 81, 2). His golden arms,¹ which he stretches out to infuse energy into all creatures, reach to the utmost ends of heaven (ii. 38, 2; iv. 53, 3, 4; vi. 71, 1, 5; vii. 45, 2). In one place, however, (vi. 71, 4), he is called *ayohanu*, the iron-jawed, though even there the commentator says that *ayas*, which ordinarily means iron, is to be rendered by gold. His ancient paths in the sky are said to be free from dust (i. 35, 11). He is called (like Varuṇa and others of the gods) *asura*, a divine spirit (i. 35, 7, 10; iv. 53, 1). His will and independent authority cannot be resisted by Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Rudra, or by any other being (ii. 38, 7, 9; v. 82, 2). He observes fixed laws (iv. 53, 4; x. 34, 8; x. 139, 3). The other gods follow his course (v. 81, 3). The waters and the wind obey his ordinance (ii. 38, 2). His praises are celebrated by the Vasus, by Aditi, by the royal Varuṇa, by Mitra and by Aryaman (vii. 38, 3, 4). He is lord of all desirable things (i. 24, 3), and sends blessings from the sky, from the atmosphere, and from the earth (ii. 38, 11). He impels the car of the Aśvins before the dawn (i. 34, 10). He is *prajāpati*,² the lord of all creatures, the supporter of the sky and of the world (iv. 53, 2; iv. 54, 4; x. 149, 1, 4).³ He measures the mundane regions (v. 81, 3). He bestows immortality on the gods (iv. 54, 2 = Vāj. Sanh. xxxiii. 54) as

¹ Indra, too, is called *hiranya-bāhu*, golden-armed, vii. 34, 4. Agni is said to raise aloft his arms like Savitr, i. 95, 7. In vii. 79, 2, the Dawns are said to send forth light as Savitr stretches out his arms. In i. 190, 3, also the arms of Savitr are alluded to. In vii. 62, 5, Mitra and Varuṇa are supplicated to stretch out their arms.

² In the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 1 (p. 117), it is said, *Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajā asṛjata*; "Prajāpati, becoming Savitr, created living beings." On the relation of Savitr and Prajāpati see Weber, "Omina und Portenta," pp. 386, 392; and the passage of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xii. 3, 5, 1, where it is said that people are accustomed to identify Savitr with Prajāpati, *Yo hy eva Savitā sa Prajāpatir iti vadantaḥ*, etc. etc.

³ It is not clear whether it is Savitr or the aerial ocean (*samudra*) from which earth, atmosphere, and sky are said in x. 149, 2, to have sprung. See Orig. Sansk. Texts, iv. 96.

he did on the R̥bhus (i. 110, 3). He is supplicated to deliver his worshippers from sin (iv. 54, 3).

Savitṛ is sometimes called *apām napāt*, son of the waters, an epithet which is more commonly applied to Agni.

The word Savitṛ is defined by Yâska (Nirukta, x. 31) as meaning *sarvasya prasavitā*, but he does not explain in what sense *prasavitā* is to be taken. The root *su* or *sû* from which it is derived has three principal significations, (1) to generate or bring forth; (2) to pour forth a libation; and (3) to send or impel. When treating of the derivatives of this root as applied to Savitṛ, Sāyaṇa sometimes gives them the sense of sending or impelling, and sometimes of permitting or authorizing (*anuñjā*). In a few places he explains the root as meaning to beget. (Thus on i. 113, 1, he renders *prasūtā* by *utpannā*, and *sarah* by *utpattiḥ*). The word *prasavitṛ*, as well as various other derivatives of the root *su*, are introduced in numerous passages of the Rig Veda relating to the god Savitṛ, with evident reference to the derivation of that name from the same root, and with a constant play upon the words,¹ such as is unexampled in the case of any other deity.

The following are some of the passages of the Rig Veda in which these derivatives occur :

i. 124, 1. "The god Savitṛ hath impelled or aroused (*prā-sārtt*) our two-footed and four-footed property to go."

i. 157, 1. "The god Savitṛ has aroused (*prāsāvit*) each moving thing" (*jagat*: comp. i. 159, 3).

v. 81, 2 (=Vâj. Sanh. xii. 3). "The wise (Savitṛ) puts on (or, manifests) all forms. He hath sent (*prāsdvīt*) prosperity to biped and quadruped. The eminent Savitṛ has illuminated the sky. He shines after the path of the Dawn." 5. "Thou alone art the lord of vivifying power (*prasavasya*).

i. 159, 5. "That desirable wealth we to-day seek through the vivifying power (*prasave*) of the divine Savitṛ."

¹ See Roth's Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 76. I cannot say whether this feature in the hymns in question affords any sufficient ground for regarding them as artificial in character, and consequently as comparatively late in their origin. To form a judgment on this point, it would be necessary to compare them in other respects with the other hymns.

iii. 33, 6 (Nir. ii. 26). "The god Savitr hath led (us, *i.e.* the waters); by his propulsion (*prasave*) we flow on broadly."

ii. 38, 1. "The god Savitr hath arisen to impel (or vivify, *savāya*) us, he who continually so works, the supporter."

viii. 91, 6. "I invoke the sea-clothed Agni, as (I invoke) the vivifying power (*savam*¹) of Savitr, and the enjoyments of Bhaga."

iii. 56, 6. "Thrice every day, O Savitr, send (*āsuva*) us desirable things from the sky. . . . 7. Thrice Savitr continues to send down (these things to us) from the sky; and so also do the fair-handed Mitra and Varuṇa. Even the waters, even the spacious heaven and earth, have solicited wealth to (call forth?) the vivifying power (*savāya*) of Savitr."

iv. 53, 3. "Savitr hath stretched out his arms in his vivifying energy (*savimani*²), stablishing and vivifying (*prasuvan*) all that moves, by his rays. . . . 6. May that god Savitr who bestows great happiness, the vivifier (*prasavitā*), the stablisher, who is lord both of that which moves and of that which is stationary, bestow on us protection."

iv. 54, 3. "Whatever (offence) we have committed . . . against gods or men, do thou, O Savitr, render (*suvatāt*) us sinless."

v. 82, 3. "For he, Savitr, who is Bhaga, (or the adorable, *bhaga*), sends (*suvatī*) wealth to his worshipper. . . . 5. Send (*sāvīh*) to-day, O divine Savitr, prosperity with progeny: send away (*parā suva*) sleeplessness (comp. x. 37, 4). 5. Send away (*parā suva*), O divine Savitr, all calamities; send (*āsuca*) us what is good. 6. May we, being sinless to Aditi, through the influence (*sava*) of the divine Savitr, possess all things desirable. 7. We worship to-day, with hymns, Savitr, who possesses true energy (*satya-sava*³), the god of all (gods), the lord of the good."

vi. 71, 1. "The potent god Savitr hath stretched out his golden arms to vivify (or impart energy, *savanāya*) . . .

¹ In i. 164, 26, and ix. 67, 25, particularly in the latter passage, *sava* may mean a libation of soma.

² This word also occurs in Sāma Veda, i. 464.

³ The same epithet is applied to him in x. 36, 13. It occurs also in the Sāma Veda, i. 464.

2. May we abide (have a share ?) in the excellent vivifying power (*sarīmani*; compare x. 36, 12) of the god Savitr, and in the bestowal of wealth by thee, who continuest to establish and vivify (*nireṣane prasave cha*) the entire two-footed and four-footed world 4. This god Savitr sends (*surati*) to his worshipper many desirable things 6. Send (*sārīḥ*) to us to-day, Savitr, what is desirable; send it to us to-morrow, and every day."

vii. 38, 2. "Rise, Savitr, sending (*dsurāna*) to men the food which is fit for mortals. 4. Whom (*i.e.* Savitr) the goddess Aditi praises, desiring the vivifying power (*savam*) of the divine Savitr."

vii. 40, 1. "May we partake in the distribution (of wealth) which the opulent god Savitr shall send (*surāti*) to-day."

vii. 45, 1. "May the god Savitr approach, rich in gems, filling the atmosphere, borne by horses, holding in his hand many gifts suitable for men, stablishing and vivifying (*prasurān*) the world. 3. The powerful god Savitr, lord of wealth, hath sent (*sāvishat*) us riches."

x. 35, 7. "Send (*dsura*) us to-day, O god Savitr, a most excellent and desirable portion," etc.

x. 36, 4. "May Savitr send (*suratu*) all prosperity," etc.

x. 64, 7. "For they (Vāyu and Pūshan), with one heart and one mind, seek after strength in the vivifying power (*sarīmani*) of the god Savitr."

x. 100, 8. "May Savitr remove (*apasārishat*) sickness."

x. 139, 1. "Invested with the solar rays, with yellow hair, Savitr raises aloft his light continually from the east. In his energy (*prasave*) the wise Pūshan marches, beholding all worlds, a guardian."

The preceding passages will suffice to show the extent to which this play on words is carried in the hymns addressed to Savitr.

Derivatives from the same root are, as we have already seen, also applied to Sūrya, as *prasavitā* and *prasūtaḥ*, in R. V. vii. 63, 2 and 4; and *apasura* in x. 37, 4; to Indra (*haryaṣṭa-prasūtāḥ*, iii. 30, 12); to Varuṇa (*parāsuva*, ii. 28, 9); and to Mitra, Aryaman, Savitr, and Bhaga (*surati*, vii. 66, 4).

In vii. 77, 1, Ushas (the Dawn) is said to incite (*prasuwantī*) all life to motion. In viii. 18, 1, the impulse, vivifying power, or favouring aid (*savīmani*) of the Âdityas is referred to.

Savitṛ is sometimes expressly distinguished from Sûrya. Thus he is said in i. 35, 9, to approach or (according to Benfey's rendering) to bring the sun (Sûrya);¹ in i. 123, 3, to declare men sinless to the sun (Sûrya); and in v. 81, 4, to combine with the rays of the sun (Sûrya). In explanation of the last passage, Sâyana remarks, that before his rising the sun is called Savitṛ, and at his rising and setting, Sûrya. And similarly Yâska says (Nirukta xii. 12) that "the time of Savitṛ's appearance is when darkness has been removed, and the rays of light have become diffused over the sky;" and in proof of this he refers to v. 81, 2, quoted above. It is scarcely consistent with this explanation, however, that in vii. 66, 4, Savitṛ is said, along with Mitra (the god of the day), and Aryaman and Bhaga, to bestow blessings after the rising of the sun. Again, in x. 139, 1, Savitṛ is termed *sûrya-raṣmi*, "invested with the rays of Sûrya;" and in vii. 35, 8 and 10, as well as x. 181, 1, the two gods are separately mentioned. In other texts, however, the two names appear to denote the same deity, as in i. 35, 7; i. 124, 1; iv. 14, 2; x. 158, 1-5; and vii. 66, 1-4 (where the functions expressed by the derivatives of the root *su*, which, as we have seen, are most generally assigned to Savitṛ, are predicated of Sûrya). In i. 157, 1, it is not very clear whether the two names are to be understood of one god, or of two.

In v. 81, 4 and 5, Savitṛ is identified with Mitra and Pûshan, or is, at least, described as fulfilling the proper function of those gods. And similarly in v. 82, 1, 3; and vii. 38, 1, 6 (unless *bhaga* is a simple epithet), Savitṛ is identified with the god of that name. On the other hand, he is clearly distinguished from these and other deities, in such texts as

¹ Sâyana remarks here that, though the godhead of Savitṛ and Sûrya is identical, they may yet, from their representing different forms, be spoken of as respectively approaching and approached.

² As in another place (x. 12, 8), he is supplicated, along with Mitra and Aditi, to declare the worshippers sinless to Varuṇa.

iii. 54, 11, 12; vi. 21, 9; vi. 49, 14; vi. 50, 1, 13; viii. 18, 3; viii. 91, 6; x. 139, 1.

The word Savitr is not always a proper name; but is sometimes used as an epithet. Thus in ii. 30, 1, it seems to express an attribute of Indra; and in iii. 55, 19, and x. 10, 5, to be, as well as *riṣvarûpa*, an epithet of Tvashṭr.

X. AGNI.

Agni is the god of fire, the Ignis of the Latins. He is one of the most prominent deities of the Rig Veda, as the hymns addressed to him far exceed in number those which are devoted to the celebration of any other divinity, with the sole exception of Indra. Agni is not, like the Greek Hephaistos, or the Latin Vulcan, the artificer of the gods (an office which, as we shall presently see, is in the Veda assigned to Tvashṭr), but derives his principal importance from his connection with the ceremonial of sacrifice. He is an immortal (i. 44, 6; i. 58, 1; ii. 10, 1, 2; iii. 2, 11; iii. 3, 1; iii. 11, 2; iii. 27, 5, 7; vi. 9, 4; vii. 4, 4; x. 79, 1), who has taken up his abode among mortals as their guest (i. 44, 4; i. 58, 6; ii. 4, 1; iii. 2, 2; iv. 1, 20; v. 1, 8; v. 8, 2; v. 18, 1; vi. 2, 7; vi. 15, 1, 4; vii. 8, 4; viii. 73, 1; x. 1, 5; x. 91, 2). He is the domestic priest, *purohita*, *ṛtvik*, *hotr*, *brahman* (i. 1, 1, 3, 8; i. 12, 1; i. 13, 1, 4; i. 26, 7; i. 36, 3, 5; i. 44, 1, 7, 9, 12; i. 45, 7; i. 58, 1, 6; i. 60, 4; i. 68, 4; i. 74, 6; i. 127, 1; i. 141, 1, 12; i. 149, 4, 5; i. 188, 3; ii. 5, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 1; iii. 4, 1; iii. 7, 9; iii. 14, 1; iii. 19, 1; iii. 10, 2, 9; iii. 11, 1; iv. 1, 8; v. 11, 2; v. 26, 7; vi. 15, 4, 13; vi. 16, 6; vii. 7, 5; vii. 10, 2; vii. 11, 5; vii. 16, 5, 12; viii. 44, 6; viii. 49, 1; ix. 66, 20; x. 1, 6), appointed both by men and gods, who performs in a higher sense all the various sacrificial offices which the Indian ritual assigned to a number of different functionaries (i. 94, 6; ii. 1, 2; ii. 5, 2, 3; iv. 1, 8; iv. 9, 3, 4; x. 2, 2; x. 91, 10). He is a sage, the divinest among sages (*asuro vipaśchitâm*, iii. 3, 4), intimately acquainted with all the forms of worship, the wise director, the successful accomplisher, and the protector, of all

ceremonies (i. 1, 4; i. 31, 1; iii. 3, 3; iii. 21, 3; iii. 27, 2, 7, 8; x. 91, 3, 8; vi. 14, 2; vii. 4, 4), who enables men to serve the gods in a correct and acceptable manner, in cases where this would be beyond their own unaided skill (x. 2, 3-5). He is the father, king, ruler, banner, or outward manifestation (*ketu*),¹ and superintendent, of sacrifices and religious duties (iii. 3, 3, 4; iii. 10, 4; iii. 11, 2; iv. 3, 1; vi. 2, 3; viii. 43, 24; x. 1, 5; x. 6, 3). He is also the religious leader or priest of the gods (x. 110, 11; x. 150, 4). He is a swift (*raghupatvá*, x. 6, 4) messenger, moving between heaven and earth, appointed both by gods and by men to maintain their mutual communications, to announce to the gods the hymns, and to convey to them the oblations, of their worshippers (i. 12, 1, 2, 4, 8; i. 27, 4; i. 36, 3, 4, 5; i. 44, 2, 3, 5, 9, 12; i. 58, 1; i. 74, 4, 7; i. 188, 1; ii. 6, 6; ii. 9, 2; ii. 10, 6; iii. 5, 2, 11; iii. 6, 5; iii. 8, 6; iii. 9, 8; iii. 11, 2; iii. 17, 4; iii. 21, 1, 5; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 3; iv. 7, 8; iv. 8, 2, 4; v. 8, 6; v. 21, 3; vi. 15, 8-10; vii. 11, 4; vii. 16, 4; vii. 17, 6; viii. 19, 21; viii. 23, 18, 19; viii. 39, 1, 9; viii. 44, 3; x. 4, 2; x. 46, 10; x. 91, 11; x. 122, 7). Being acquainted with the innermost recesses of the sky (iv. 8, 2, 4), he is well fitted to summon the gods to the sacrifices; and he comes with them seated on the same car (iii. 4, 11; vii. 11, 1), or in advance of them (x. 70, 2). He brings Varuṇa to the ceremony, Indra from the sky, the Maruts from the air (x. 70, 11). Without him the gods experience no satisfaction (vii. 11, 1). He himself offers them worship (vii. 11, 3; viii. 91, 16; x. 7, 6). He is the mouth and tongue through which both gods and men taste the sacrifices (ii. 1, 13, 14). He is elsewhere asked to eat the offerings himself (iii. 21, 1 ff.; iii. 28, 2-6), and invited to drink the soma-juice (i. 14, 10; i. 19, 9; i. 21, 1, 3).

The 51st hymn of the tenth book contains a dialogue between Agni and the other gods, in which they give utterance to their desire that he would come forth from his concealment,

¹ His father begot him (*janitā tvā jajāna*) to be the revelation and brilliant banner of all sacrifices. With the phrase, *janitā tvā jajāna*, compare the expressions in x. 20, 9, also relating to Agni, and in iv. 17, 4, relating to Indra.

and try to persuade him to appear and convey to them the customary oblations. After he has expressed some timid apprehension (*rv.* 4, 6), he is induced (as it would seem) by the promise of long life and a share in the sacrifice to accede to their request. In the next following hymn (the 52nd) Agni proclaims himself the master of the ceremonies, declares himself ready to obey the commands of the gods, and asks how and by what path he can bring them the oblations. Agni is the lord, protector, and leader of the people, *viṣpati*, *viśam gopā*, *viśam pura etā* (i. 12, 2; i. 26, 7; i. 31, 11; i. 96, 4; ii. 1, 8; iii. 11, 5); the king or monarch, or king of men (i. 59, 5; ii. 1, 8; iii. 10, 1; v. 4, 1; vi. 7, 1; vii. 8, 1; viii. 43, 24). He is also the lord of the house, *grhapati*, dwelling in every abode (i. 12, 6; i. 36, 5; i. 60, 4; v. 8, 2; vii. 15, 2; x. 91, 2). He is a father, mother, brother, son, kinsman, and friend (i. 26, 3; i. 31, 10, 14, 16; i. 75, 4; ii. 1, 9; vi. 1, 5; viii. 43, 16; viii. 64, 16; x. 7, 3); and some worshippers claim with him a hereditary friendship (i. 71, 10). He drives away and destroys Rakshases or demons (iii. 15, 1; vii. 13, 1; vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 13; viii. 43, 26; x. 87, 1; x. 187, 3). In hymn x. 87, he is invoked to protect the sacrifice (*r.* 9), and to consume the Rakshases and Yâtudhânas by the most terrible manifestations of his fury (*passim*).

Various, though not necessarily inconsistent, accounts are given in the hymns of the birth of Agni. Sometimes a divine origin is ascribed to him, while at other times his production, or at least his manifestation, is ascribed to the use of the ordinary human appliances. Thus he is said to have been brought from the sky by Mâtarisvan¹ (i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 143, 2; i. 148, 1; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4), to have been generated by Indra between two clouds (ii. 12, 3); to have been generated by the sky (x. 45, 8), to be the son of heaven and earth (iii. 2, 2; iii. 25, 1; x. 1, 2, 7; x. 2, 7; x. 140, 1), whom he magnified on [or by] his birth (iii. 3, 11). His production is also said to be due to the waters (x. 2, 7; x. 91, 6), and to Tvashtṛ (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7). He is elsewhere said to have

¹ See my article on Manu in vol. xx. of this Journal, p. 416, note. In one place (vii. 15, 4) he is called the falcon of the sky (*divah śyendya*).

been generated by the gods (vi. 7, 1; viii. 91, 17), as a light to the Ârya (i. 59, 2), or placed by the gods among the tribes of Manu (i. 36, 10; ii. 4, 3; vi. 16, 1; viii. 73, 2). Yet although the son, he is also the father of the gods (i. 69, 1). In viii. 19, 33, his superiority to other fires is shewn by their being declared to be parts of him.

In other passages, however, as in iii. 29, 1 ff., the process of friction, by which the god is daily generated by his worshippers, is described (compare i. 44, 7; i. 68, 2; iii. 23, 2-4; vii. 1, 1; viii. 49, 15). He is produced from two sticks¹ as an infant (v. 9, 3; viii. 23, 25). Strange to say, the child immediately begins, with unnatural voracity, to consume his parents, and is altogether beyond his mortal worshipper's comprehension (x. 79, 4). Like the wriggling brood of a serpent, however, he is sometimes difficult to catch (v. 9, 4). Wonderful is his growth, seeing that he is born of a mother who cannot suckle him (x. 115, 1); but he is nourished and increased by oblations of clarified butter (iii. 21, 1 ff.; v. 11, 3; v. 14, 6; viii. 39, 3; viii. 43, 10, 22; viii. 44, 1; viii. 63, 2; x. 118, 4, 6). He himself is made by the poet to say "butter is my eye" (iii. 26, 7). His epithets are various, and for the most part descriptive of his physical characteristics. He is *ghṛtānnah*, butter-fed (vii. 3, 1; x. 69, 2); *ghṛta-nirṇik*, butter-formed (iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 5; x. 122, 2); *ghṛta-keṣa*, butter haired (viii. 49, 2); *ghṛta-prṣhṭha*, butter-backed (v. 4, 3; v. 37, 1; vii. 2, 4; x. 122, 4); *ghṛtapratīka*, gleaming with butter (iii. 1, 8; v. 11, 1; x. 21, 7); *ghṛta-yoni*, issuing from butter (v. 8, 6); *dhūma-ketu*, smoke-bannered (i. 27, 11; i. 44, 3; i. 94, 10; v. 11, 3; viii. 43, 4; viii. 44, 10; x. 4, 5; x. 12, 2); he sends up his smoke like a pillar to the

¹ Hence, perhaps, it is that he is called *divi-mātā*, born of two parents (i. 31, 2; 5); and *divi-janmā*, having a double birth (i. 69, 1; i. 119, 4, 5). He is, however, also called *bhārijanmā*, having many births (x. 5, 2). In R.V. i. 95, 2, he is said to be produced by the ten young women, i.e. the ten fingers. See Roth, *Illustrations of Nirukta*, p. 120; Benfey's *Orient und Occident*, ii. 510; and Roth's *Lexicon*, s.v. *Tvaṣṭṛ*.

In regard to the persons or families by whom the sacrificial fire is supposed to have been first kindled, and the rites of Aryan worship introduced, viz., Manu, Angiras, Bhṛgu, Atharvan, Dadhyaneh, etc., see my paper on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryan Indians," in vol. xx. of this Journal, pp. 410-416. In viii. 23, 17, Kāvyā Uṣanas is said to have established Agni to perform invocations on behalf of men.

sky (iv. 6, 2; vii. 2, 1; vii. 3, 3; vii. 16, 3); his smoke is waving, his flame cannot be seized (viii. 23, 1); he is driven by the wind (i. 58, 4, 5; i. 65, 8). He is a destroyer of darkness (i. 140, 1), and sees through the gloom of the night (i. 94, 7). The world which had been swallowed up and enveloped in darkness, and the heavens, are manifested at his appearance, and the gods, the sky, the earth, the waters, the plants rejoice in his friendship (x. 88, 2). He is *chitra-bhānu*, *chitra-śochih*, of varied lustre or blaze (i. 27, 6; ii. 10, 2; v. 26, 2; vi. 10, 3; vii. 9, 3; vii. 12, 1; viii. 19, 2), *ūrdhwa-śochis*, upward-flaming (vi. 15, 2), *śukra-śochih*, bright-flaming (vii. 15, 10; viii. 23, 20), *pāraka-śochis*, with purifying flames (viii. 43, 31), *śukra-varṇa*, *śuchi-varṇa*, bright coloured (i. 140, 1; v. 2, 3), *śochish-keśa*, with blazing hair (i. 45, 6; iii. 14, 1; iii. 17, 1; iii. 27, 4; v. 8, 2), *hari-keśa*, with tawny hair (iii. 2, 13), golden-formed (iv. 3, 1; x. 20, 9; *hiraṇya-rūpaṃ janitā jajāna*), and *hiri-śmasṛu*, with golden beard (v. 7, 7). He carries sharp weapons (iv. 4, 4; iv. 5, 3), he has sharp teeth (i. 79, 6; i. 143, 5; iv. 5, 4; iv. 15, 5; viii. 19, 22), burning teeth (i. 58, 4; viii. 23, 4), brilliant teeth (v. 7, 7), golden teeth (v. 2, 3), iron grinders (x. 87, 2), and sharp and consuming jaws (viii. 49, 13; x. 79, 1). According to one passage, he is footless, and headless (iv. 1, 12); and yet he is elsewhere said to have a burning head (vii. 3, 1), three heads and seven rays (i. 146, 1; ii. 5, 2), to be four-eyed (i. 31, 13), thousand-eyed (i. 79, 12), and thousand-horned (v. 1, 8).¹ He is *kṛṣṇādhran*, *kṛṣṇa-rarttani*, *kṛṣṇa-pavi*, i.e. his path and his wheels are marked by blackness (ii. 4, 6; vi. 10, 4; vii. 8, 1; viii. 23, 19); he envelopes the woods, consumes and blackens them with his tongue (vi. 60, 10; x. 79, 2); he is all-devouring (viii. 44, 26); driven by the wind, he invades the forests, and shears the hairs of the earth (i. 65, 4), like a barber shaving a beard (x. 142, 4). He causes terror, like an army let loose (i. 66, 8;

¹ In one place (viii. 19, 32) Agni is called *sahasra-mushka*, which the commentator explains by *bahu-tejaska*, having many flames. The same epithet is, in R. V. vi. 46, 3, applied to Indra, where Sâyana makes it equivalent to *sahasra-śapha*, mille membra genitalia habens; and quotes, in proof of this sense, a passage from the Kausitaki Brâhmana.

i. 143, 5). His flames roar like the waves of the sea (i. 44, 12; compare i. 58, 4). He sounds like thunder (vii. 3, 6; x. 45, 4), and roars like the wind (viii. 91, 5), like the Maruts (i. 143, 5), like a lion (iii. 2, 11), and like a bull, and the birds are terrified at his ravages (i. 94, 4, 5). He has a hundred manifestations (*śatātma*), and shines like the sun (i. 149, 4; vii. 3, 6). He is compared to the lightning (i. 143, 5; x. 91, 5), and is borne on a chariot of lightning (iii. 14, 1). His car is luminous¹ (i. 140, 1; i. 141, 12; iii. 3, 5; compare v. 1, 11), variegated (x. 1, 5), golden (iv. 1, 8), beautiful (iii. 3, 9; iv. 2, 4). This car is drawn by swift, beautiful, ruddy, tawny, or omniform horses (i. 14, 6, 12; i. 45, 2; i. 94, 10; i. 141, 12; ii. 4, 2; ii. 8, 1; ii. 10, 2; iv. 1, 8; iv. 2, 2, 4; iv. 6, 9; vi. 16, 43; vii. 16, 2; viii. 43, 16; x. 7, 4; x. 70, 2 f.), which he yokes in order to summon the gods (i. 14, 12; iii. 6, 6, 9; viii. 64, 1).

In some parts of the Rig Veda Agni is regarded as having a triple existence, as the sun in heaven, as lightning in the atmosphere, and as ordinary fire on the earth or in the waters². Thus he is called *trisadhasthaḥ*, dwelling in the three spheres (v. 4, 8, comp. x. 56, 1), *arkas tridhātuḥ*, a triple light (iii. 26, 7), and *tripastyah*, having three abodes (viii. 39, 8). He is said to occupy the three luminaries and all the worlds (i. 149, 4), to have three births, one in the sea³ (*samudre*), one in the heaven (*divi*), and one in the waters or atmosphere (*apsu*, i. 95, 3). In another place (viii. 43, 28) he is only spoken of as born in the sky and in the waters or atmosphere (*divijā asi apsujā*), and similarly in ii. 9, 3 (compare viii. 39, 8), he is said to have an upper and a lower sphere. In x. 91, 6, it is said that the waters, the mothers, generated Agni (compare iii. 1, 3; iii. 9, 4). In x. 88, 10, we are told that "the gods through their power created with a hymn Agni who fills the worlds; they formed

¹ *Chandra-ratha* and *jyotiratha*. The latter epithet is also applied to all the gods (x. 63, 4).

² Compare Nirukta vii. 5, and xii. 19, with the comment of Durga on the latter passage, quoted in "Sanskrit Texts," vol. iv. pp. 55-57.

³ In R.V. viii. 91, 4 (= Sâma Veda i. 18), Agni is called *samudra-vâsas*, "clothed with, or enveloped by, the ocean."

him to have a threefold¹ existence" (comp. x. 45, 1, 2). In one of the preceding verses (x. 88, 6) it is said that "Agni is at night the head of the earth; and from him springs the sun rising in the morning," *i.e.* as Yâska says, the sun is identical with him. In a following verse (x. 88, 11) the gods are declared to have placed Agni in the sky as *Sûrya Âditeya*, the Sun, the offspring of Aditi. In x. 80, 4, Agni is said to have many abodes.

The highest divine functions are ascribed to Agni. He is called the divine king, and declared to be strong as Indra (vii. 6, 1). Although (as we have seen above) he is described in some passages as the offspring of heaven and earth, he is said in other places to have stretched them out (iii. 6, 5); to have spread out the two worlds like two skins (vi. 8, 3); to have produced them (i. 96, 4; vii. 5, 6); to have propped up the sky (i. 67, 3; iii. 5, 10; vi. 8, 3); to have measured out the mundane regions and the luminaries of heaven (vi. 7, 7; vi. 8, 2); to have begotten Mitra (x. 8, 4), and caused the sun, the imperishable orb, to ascend the sky (x. 156, 4); to have made all that flies, or walks, or stands, or moves (x. 88, 4).² He is the head (*mûrddhâ*) and summit of the sky, the centre (*nâbhi*) of the earth (i. 59, 2; comp. verse 1; vi. 7, 1; viii. 44, 16; x. 88, 5). His greatness exceeds that of heaven and all the worlds (i. 59, 5; iii. 3, 10; iii. 2, 7; iii. 6, 2).³ He has achieved famous exploits of old (vii. 6, 2). Men tremble at his mighty deeds, and his ordinances cannot be resisted (ii. 8, 3; ii. 9, 1; vi. 7, 5; viii. 44, 25; viii. 92, 3). Earth and heaven obey his command (vii. 5, 4). He gained wealth for the gods in battle (i. 59, 5); and delivered them⁴ from

¹ This triple existence is according to Śâkapûni, as quoted by Yâska (Nir. vii. 28), that which Agni has on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven. The gods are said in the same hymn (x. 88, 7) to have thrown into Agni an oblation accompanied by a hymn, and in v. 9, this oblation is said to have consisted of all creatures or all worlds (*bhuvanâni vigvâ*).

² This half verse is quoted in Nirukta, v. 3. Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, explains the words by saying that Agni subjects all things to himself at the time of the mundane dissolution.

³ Epithets of this description may have been originally applied to some other god to whom they were more suitable than to Agni, and subsequently transferred to him by his worshippers in emulation of the praises lavished on other deities.

⁴ Unless we are to take *devân* here in the sense of priests.

calamity (vii. 13, 2). He is the conqueror of thousands (i. 188, 1). All the gods fear and do homage to him when he abides in darkness (vi. 9, 7). He is celebrated and worshipped by Varuṇa, Mitra, the Maruts, and all the 3339 gods (iii. 9, 9; iii. 14, 4; x. 69, 9). It is through him that Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman (i. 141, 9) triumph. He sees all worlds (x. 187, 4). He knows the recesses of heaven (iv. 8, 2, 4), the races of gods and men (i. 70, 2, 6; iii. 4, 11; vi. 15, 13), the secrets of mortals (viii. 39, 6), and all things (i. 188, 1). He is *asura*, the divine (iv. 2, 5; v. 12, 1; v. 15, 1; v. 27, 1; vii. 2, 3; vii. 6, 1; x. 11, 6).

The votaries of Agni prosper (vi. 2, 4, 5; vi. 5, 5; vi. 10, 3; vi. 13, 4; vi. 15, 11; vii. 11, 2; viii. 19, 5, 6; viii. 73, 9). He is the friend of the man who entertains him as a guest (iv. 4, 10), and bestows protection and wealth upon the worshipper who sweats to bring him fuel, or wearies his head to serve him. He watches with a thousand eyes over the man who brings him food and oblations (x. 79, 5). He bestows children (v. 25, 5), wealth (i. 1, 3; i. 31, 10, 12; i. 36, 4), and victory (i. 27, 7, 8). No mortal enemy can by any craft lord it over the man who sacrifices to him (viii. 23, 15). He also confers, and is the guardian and lord of, immortality (i. 31, 7; vi. 7, 4; vi. 7, 7; vii. 4, 6). He was made by the gods the centre of immortality (*amṛtasya nābhiḥ*, iii. 17, 4). In a funeral hymn (x. 16, 4) Agni is supplicated to carry the unborn part of the deceased to the world of the righteous. He carries men across calamities or preserves them from them (iii. 20, 4; v. 4, 9; vii. 12, 2). All treasures are congregated in him (x. 6, 6). All blessings proceed from him, as branches from a tree (vi. 13, 1). He is master of all the treasures in the earth, the atmosphere and the sky (vii. 6, 7; x. 91, 3). He is in consequence continually supplicated for various boons (iv. 2, 4 ff.; i. 18, 9; i. 36, 14–16; i. 58, 8, 9; ii. 7, 2, 3; vi. 1, 12 f.), to be an iron wall with a hundred ramparts to protect his worshippers (vi. 48, 8; vii. 3, 7; vii. 15, 14); to consume their enemies (iv. 4, 3 ff.); and to forgive sin (iv. 12, 4; vii. 93, 7), to avert Varuṇa's wrath (iv. 1, 4, 5), and to release from (his ?) bonds (v. 2, 7).

In one place (viii. 44, 23), the worshipper naively says to Agni: "If I were thou, and thou wert I, thy aspirations should be fulfilled;" and again, viii. 19, 25 f.: "If, Agni, thou wert a mortal, and I an immortal, . . . I would not abandon thee to wrong or to penury. *My* worshipper should not be poor, nor distressed, nor miserable." (Compare the similar appeal to Indra's generosity in vii. 32, 18, 19.)

In another place (x. 79, 6) the worshipper asks "why hast thou among (all) the gods forsaken and injured us? I ask thee in my ignorance."

Agni is occasionally identified with other gods and different goddesses, Indra, Vishṇu, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Anṣa, Tvashṭr, Rudra, Pûshan, Savitr, Bhaga, Aditi, Hotrâ, Bhâratî, Ilâ, Sarasvatî (ii. 1, 3-7, and 11; iii. 5, 4; v. 3, 1; vii. 12, 3; x. 8, 5).¹ All gods are comprehended in him (v. 3, 1); he surrounds them as the circumference of a wheel does the spokes (i. 141, 9; v. 13, 6). Varuṇa is in one place (iv. 1, 2) spoken of as his brother.

Agni is associated with Indra in different hymns, as i. 108 and 109; iii. 12, 1 ff.; vi. 59 and 60; vii. 93 and 94; viii. 38 and 40. The two gods are said to be twin brothers, having the same father, and having their mothers here and there² (vi. 59, 2), to be both thunderers, slayers of Vṛtra, and shakers of cities (iii. 12, 4, 6; vi. 59, 3; vi. 60, 3; vii. 93, 1, 4; viii. 38, 2). They are also invited together to come and drink soma (vii. 93, 6; viii. 38, 4, 7-9), and are together invoked for help (vii. 94, 7). Agni is elsewhere said to exercise alone the function usually assigned to Indra, and to slay Vṛtra and destroy cities (i. 59, 6; i. 78, 4; iii. 20, 4; vi. 16, 14, 39, 48; vii. 5, 3; vii. 6, 2). He is also described as driving away the Dasyus from the house, thus

¹ Another verse where Agni is identified with other gods is of a more pantheistic character, viz., i. 164, 46, "They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni; then there is that celestial well-winged bird. Sages name variously that which is but one; they call it Agni, Yama, Mâtariṣvan."

² The sense of the word *ihchamâtara* is not clear. Sâyana says it means that their mother Aditi is here and there, *i.e.* everywhere. Roth, *s.v.*, understands it to mean that the mother of the one is here, of the other there, *i.e.* in different places.

creating a large light for the Ārya (vii. 5, 6),¹ as the promoter of the Ārya (viii. 92, 1), and as the vanquisher of the irreligious Panis (vii. 6, 3),—though it is Indra who is most frequently represented in the hymns as the patron and helper of the sacred race, and the destroyer of their enemies. On the other hand, in viii. 38, 1, where the two gods are called two priests (ṛtvijâ), Indra is made to share in the character peculiar to Agni. In hymn i. 93, Agni and Soma are celebrated in company.

XI. TVASHTṚ.

Tvashṭṛ, as represented in the Rig Veda, is the Indian Vulcan, the artist *par excellence* (compare Nirukta, viii. 13), the divine artizan, the most skilful of workmen, who is versed in all magical devices (x. 53, 9). He forges the thunderbolts of Indra² (i. 32, 2; i. 52, 7; i. 61, 6; i. 85, 9; v. 31, 4; vi. 17, 10; x. 48, 3), which are described as formed of gold (i. 85, 9), or of iron (x. 48, 3), with a thousand points and a hundred edges (i. 85, 9; vi. 17, 10). He is styled *supāṇi*, *sugabhastî*, the skilful-handed (iii. 54, 12; vi. 49, 9), *svapas*, *sukṛt*, the skilful worker (i. 85, 9), *viṣvarûpa*,³ the creator of all forms (i. 13, 10; iii. 55, 19; x. 10, 5), and *savitṛ*, the vivifier (iii. 55, 19;⁴ x. 10, 5). He is the bestower of generative power and of offspring (i. 142, 10; iii. 4, 9; vii. 2, 9; vii. 34, 20; compare Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, xxi. 20; xxii. 20; xxvii).⁵ He forms husband and wife for each other even from the womb (x. 10, 5; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He transforms the seminal germ in the womb, and is the shaper of all forms human and animal (R.V. i. 188, 9; viii. 91, 8; x. 184, 1; A.V. ii. 26, 1; v. 26, 8; ix. 4, 6; Vâjasaneyi Sanhitâ, xxxi. 17; Taittiriya Sanhitâ, i. 4, 2, 1; Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, ii. 2, 3, 4; iii. 7, 3, 11; xiii. 1, 8, 7). He has produced and nourishes

¹ In i. 59, 2, the gods are said to have produced him as a light to the Ārya.

² In i. 121, 3, Indra (?) is said to fashion his own thunderbolts.

³ In iii. 38, 4, Indra also is called *viṣvarûpa*.

⁴ Quoted in Nirukta, x. 34. See Roth's Illustrations of Nirukta, p. 144.

⁵ In A. V. vi. 81, 3, Tvashṭṛ is said to have bound the amulet which Aditi wore when she was desirous of offspring, on the arm of a female in order that she might bear a son.

a great variety of creatures; all worlds are his, and are known to him, for he has created them, and has given to the heaven and the earth their forms (iii. 55, 19; iv. 42, 3; x. 110, 9; Vâj. Sanh. xxix. 9). He bestows long life (x. 18, 6; A.V. vi. 78, 3). He puts speed into the feet of a horse (V.S. ix. 9). He created Brhaspati (ii. 23, 17), and is said, along with other deities, Heaven and Earth, the Waters, etc., to have produced Agni (i. 95, 2; x. 2, 7; x. 46, 9). (And yet, in common with other gods, he is said, in x. 125, 2, to be sustained by the goddess Vâch). He is master of the universe (*bhuvanasya sakshanih*, ii. 31, 4), a first-born protector and leader (i. 13, 10; ix. 5, 9). He is called *vibhu*, the pervading, and knows the paths of the gods (x. 70, 9). He is supplicated to nourish the worshipper, and protect his sacrifice. He is *dravinodas*, the giver of wealth (x. 70, 9; x. 92, 11); and is asked, like the other gods, to bestow riches and protection (vii. 34, 22).

Tvashtṛ is in several passages connected with the Ṛbhus, who, like him, are celebrated as skilful workmen (see Roth's Lexicon, s.v.), who fashioned Indra's chariot and horses, etc. etc. (i. 111, 1; i. 161, 3), and are spoken of by Sâyaṇa (on i. 20, 6) as Tvashtṛ's pupils. These Ṛbhus are said to have made into four a single new sacrificial cup which Tvashtṛ had formed (i. 20, 6; i. 110, 3). This exhibition of skill is said to have been performed by command of the gods, and in consequence of a promise that its accomplishment should be rewarded by their exaltation to divine honours (i. 161, 1-5). Tvashtṛ is in this passage represented as resenting this alteration of his own work as a slight to himself, and as having in consequence sought to slay his rivals. In another place (iv. 33, 5, 6), on the contrary, he is said to have applauded their design, and admired the brilliant results of their skill.

In ii. 1, 5, Agni is identified with Tvashtṛ, as he is also, however, with many other gods in other verses of the same hymn. In i. 95, 5, Agni appears to be designated by the word Tvashtṛ. In vi. 47, 19, where Tvashtṛ is spoken of as yoking his horses and shining resplendently, the commentator supposes that Indra is referred to.¹

¹ On the obscure passage, i. 84, 15, where the name of Tvashtṛ is mentioned

In x. 17, 1 f. Tvashṭṛ is said to have given his daughter Saranyu in marriage to Vivasvat: "Tvashṭṛ makes a wedding for his daughter. (Hearing) this the whole world assembles. The mother of Yama, the wedded wife of the great Vivasvat, disappeared. 2. They concealed the immortal (bride) from mortals. Making (another) of like appearance (*savarṇām*), they gave her to Vivasvat. Saranyu bore the two Aṣvins, and when she had done so, she deserted the two twins." These two verses are quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 10 f., where the following illustrative story is told: "Saranyu, the daughter of Tvashṭṛ, bore twins to Vivasvat the sun. She then substituted for herself another female of similar appearance (*savarṇām*), and fled in the form of a mare. Vivasvat in like manner assumed the shape of a horse, and followed her. From their intercourse sprang the two Aṣvins, while Manu was the offspring of *Savarṇā* (or the female of like appearance)." (See Roth's interpretation of R.V. x. 17, 1 ff. and remarks thereon, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, iv. 424 f.; and the same writer's translation, in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 161, of a passage of the Bṛhaddevatā, given by Sâyaṇa on R.V. vii. 72, 2, relating the same story about Vivasvat and Saranyu which is given in the Nirukta).

In R.V. viii. 26, 21 f. Vâyu also is spoken of as Tvashṭṛ's son-in-law. Whether Vâyu's wife was different from Saranyu, or whether there is a discrepancy between this story and the one just referred to about Vivasvat, does not appear.

Tvashṭṛ is represented as having for his most frequent attendants the wives of the gods (i. 22, 9; ii. 31, 4; ii. 36, 3; vi. 50, 13; vii. 35, 6; x. 64, 10; x. 66, 3).

In x. 49, 10, he is spoken of as if he were a deity of some importance, though inferior to Indra, since the latter is said to perform what even the gods and Tvashṭṛ could not do.

Indra is occasionally represented as in a state of hostility

Wilson's translation and note, Roth's explanation in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 49, and Benfey's remarks in his "Orient und Occident," ii. 245 f., may be consulted.

with Tvashṭr and his son.¹ Thus, in iii. 48, 4, it is said that Indra overcame him, and carried off his soma-juice, which he drank from the cups; and in iv. 18, 3, that the same god drank off the soma in his house. In explanation of these allusions, the commentator (who in his note on iii. 48, 4, calls Tvashṭr an Asura) refers to the Taittirīya Sanhitâ, ii. 4, 12, 1, where it is related that Tvashṭr, whose son had been slain by Indra, began to perform a soma-sacrifice in the absence of the latter, and refused, on the ground of his homicide, to allow him to assist at the ceremony; when Indra interrupted the celebration, and drank off the soma by force (compare Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 6 ff; v. 5, 4, 7 ff.; xii. 7, 1, 1; xii. 8, 3, 1 ff).

The son of Tvashṭr is mentioned in several passages of the Rig Veda. Thus in x. 8, 8, it is said: "This Trita Âptya, knowing his paternal weapons, and impelled by Indra, fought against the three-headed and seven-rayed (monster), and slaying him, he carried off the cows even of the son of Tvashṭr. 9. Indra, the lord of the good, pierced this arrogant being, who boasted of his great force; seizing the cows, he struck off the three heads even of Viṣvarûpa the son of Tvashṭr (or of the omniform son of Tvashṭr)." (Compare ii. 11, 19; x. 76, 3). A loud-shouting monster with three heads and six eyes, perhaps identical with the son of Tvashṭr, is also mentioned in x. 99, 6, as having been overcome by Indra or Trita.

Viṣvarûpa is frequently mentioned in the later works.

According to the Taittirīya Sanhitâ, ii. 5, 1, 1 ff., he was the priest (*purohita*) of the gods, while he was sister's son (no further genealogy is given) of the Asuras. He had three heads, called respectively the soma-drinker, the wine-drinker, and the food-eater. He declared in public that the sacrifices should be shared by the gods only, while he privately recommended that they should be offered to the Asuras. For, as the author of the Brâhmaṇa remarks, it is customary for people in public to promise every one a share, whereas it is

¹ In i. 80, 4, it is said that even Tvashṭr trembles at Indra's wrath when he thunders. But this trait is merely introduced to indicate the terrific grandeur of Indra's manifestations. In Vâj. Sanh. xx. 44, Tvashṭr is said to have imparted vigour to Indra.

only those to whom the promise is privately made who obtain its fulfilment. Indra was alarmed lest his dominion should by this procedure of Viṣvarûpa be overturned, and he accordingly smote off his heads with a thunderbolt. The three heads were turned into birds, the one called Soma-drinker, became a Kapinjala (or Francoline partridge), the Wine-drinker a Kalavinka (or sparrow), and the Food-eater a Tittiri (or partridge), etc.

Compare the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, i. 6, 3, 1 ff.; v. 5, 4, 2 ff.; and the Mahâbhârata, Udyoga Parva, 228 ff.

In the Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa, section 77, Tvashṭṛ is identified with Viṣvakarman and Prajâpati. Compare verses 1, 10, 15, 16, 34, 36, 38, and 41. Weber (*Omina und Portenta*, p. 391 f.) refers to a passage of the *Adbhutâdhyâya* of the Kauṣika Sûtras, where Tvashṭṛ is identified with Savitṛ and Prajâpati.

XII. SOMA.

Soma is the god who represents and animates the juice of the soma plant, an intoxicating draught which plays an important part in the sacrifices of the Vedic age. He is, or rather was, the Indian Bacchus. Not only are the whole of the hymns in the ninth book of the *Rig Veda*, one hundred and fourteen in number, besides a few in other places, dedicated to his honour, but constant references to the juice of the soma occur in a large proportion of the other hymns. It is clear therefore, as remarked by Professor Whitney (*Journ. of the Amer. Orient. Society*, iii. 292), that his worship must at one time have attained a remarkable popularity. This circumstance is thus explained by the writer to whom I have referred: "The simple-minded Arian people, whose whole religion was a worship of the wonderful powers and phenomena of nature, had no sooner perceived that this liquid had power to elevate the spirits, and produce a temporary frenzy, under the influence of which the individual was prompted to, and capable of, deeds beyond his natural powers, than they found in it something divine: it was, to their apprehension, a god, endowing those into whom it

entered with godlike powers; the plant which afforded it became to them the king of plants; the process of preparing it was a holy sacrifice; the instruments used therefor were sacred. The high antiquity of this cultus is attested by the references to it found occurring in the Persian Avesta;¹ it seems, however, to have received a new impulse on Indian territory."

Dr. Haug, in his work on the Aitareya Brâhmaṇa (Introd. p. 60), thus writes of the soma sacrifice: "Being thus," (*i.e.* through the oblation of an animal) "received among the gods, the sacrificer is deemed worthy to enjoy the divine beverage, the soma, and participate in the heavenly king, who is Soma. The drinking of the soma-juice makes him a new man; though a new celestial body had been prepared for him at the Prâvargya ceremony, the enjoyment of the soma beverage transforms him again; for the nectar of the gods flows for the first time in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him."

With the decline of the Vedic worship, however, and the introduction of new deities and new ceremonies, the popularity of Soma gradually decreased, and has long since passed away; and his name is now familiar to those few Brahmans only who still maintain in a few places the early Vedic observances.

The hymns addressed to Soma were intended to be sung while the juice of the plant from which he takes his name (the *asclepias acida* or *sarcostemma viminalis*) was being pressed out and purified.² They describe enthusiastically the flowing forth and filtration of the divine juice, and the effects produced on the worshippers, and supposed to be produced on the gods, by partaking of the beverage. Thus the first verse of the first hymn of the ninth book runs thus: "O soma, poured out for Indra to drink, flow on purely in a most sweet and exhilarating current." In vi. 47, 1, 2, the juice is described

¹ See Dr. Windischmann's Essay on the Soma-worship of the Arians, or the translated extracts from it in Sanskrit Texts, vol. ii. p. 469 ff.; and the extract there given, p. 474, from Plutarch de Isid. et Osir. 46, in which the *soma*, or as it is in Zend, *haoma*, appears to be referred to under the appellation *šmōm*. See also on the fact of the soma rite of the Indians being originally identical with the haoma ceremony of the Zoroastrians, Haug's Aitareya Brâhmaṇa, Introd., p. 62.

² See the process as described by Windischmann, after Dr. Stevenson, in Sanskrit Texts, ii. 470.

as sweet, honied, sharp, well-flavoured. When quaffed, it stimulates the voice, and calls forth ardent conceptions (ibid. v. 3). In a verse (viii. 48, 3) already quoted above, in the account of Indra, the worshippers exclaim: "We have drunk the soma, we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods. What can an enemy now do to us, or what can the malice of any mortal effect, O thou immortal god?" No one can withstand Indra in battle when he has drunk this libation and become exhilarated by it (vi. 47, 1, 2).

The plant is said to have been brought to the earth by a falcon (iii. 43, 7; iv. 26, 4, 5, 7; iv. 27, 3, 4) from a mountain (i. 93, 6) where it had been planted by Varuṇa (v. 85, 2), or from the uppermost sky (iv. 26, 6). In another place (ix. 113, 3) it is declared to have been brought by the daughter of the Sun from the place where it had been nourished by Parjanya, the rain-god; when the Gandharvas took it, and infused into it sap.

In other passages a Gandharva is connected with the soma plant, the sphere (*pada*) of which he is said to protect, and all the forms of which he is said to manifest (ix. 83, 4; ix. 85, 12).¹ In the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa (iii. 2, 4, 1, ff.) it is related that the soma existed formerly in the sky. The gods desired to get it, that they might employ it in sacrifice. The Gâyatrî flew to bring it for them. While she was carrying it off, the Gandharva Vibhâvasu robbed her of it. The gods became aware of this, and knowing the partiality of the Gandharvas for females (comp. iii. 9, 3, 20), they sent Vâch, the goddess of speech, to induce them to give it up, which she succeeded in doing. And in xi. 7, 2, 8, it is said: "The soma existed in the sky. The Gâyatrî became a bird, and brought it." See also the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, iii. 6, 2, 2-18, towards the close of which passage, as well as in iii. 9, 3, 18, the Gandharvas are spoken of as the guardians of the soma.

The juice of this plant is said to be an immortal²

¹ See Roth's Lexicon under the word *Gandharva*.

² This means, according to Sâyana, that it has no deadly effects, like other intoxicating drinks.

draught, to be medicine for a sick man (viii. 61, 17). All the gods drink of it (ix. 109, 15). The god also, who is its personification, is said to clothe whatever is naked, and to heal whatever is sick; through him the blind sees, and the lame walks abroad (viii. 68, 2; x. 25, 11). He is the guardian of men's bodies, and occupies their every member (viii. 48, 9).

A great variety of divine attributes and operations are ascribed to Soma. As Prof. Whitney observes, he is "addressed as a god in the highest strains of adulation and veneration; all powers belong to him; all blessings are besought of him, as his to bestow." He is said to be *asura*, divine (ix. 73, 1; ix. 74, 7), and the soul of sacrifice (ix. 2, 10; ix. 6, 8). He is immortal (i. 43, 9), and confers immortality on gods and men (i. 91, 1, 6, 18; viii. 48, 3; ix. 106, 8; ix. 108, 3; ix. 109, 2, 3). In a passage (ix. 113, 7 ff.) where the joys of paradise are more distinctly anticipated and more fervently implored than in most other parts of the Rig Veda, Soma is addressed as the god from whom the gift of future felicity is expected. Thus it is there said: "7. Place me, O purified god, in that everlasting and imperishable world where there is eternal light and glory. O Indu (soma), flow for Indra. 8. Make me immortal in the world where king Vairasvata (Yama, the son of Vivasvat,) lives, where is the innermost sphere of the sky, where those great waters flow."

Soma exhilarates Varuṇa, Mitra, Indra, Viṣṇu, the Maruts, the other gods, Vāyu, Heaven and Earth (ix. 90, 5; ix. 97, 42). By him the Ādityas are strong, and the earth vast (x. 85, 2). He is the friend, helper, and soul of Indra (iv. 28, 1 ff.; ix. 85, 3; x. 25, 9), whose vigour he stimulates (ix. 76, 2), and whom he succours in his conflicts with Vṛtra (ix. 61, 22). He rides in the same chariot with Indra (ix. 87, 9; ix. 103, 5). He has, however, horses of his own, and a team like Vāyu (ix. 88, 3). He ascends his filter in place of a car, and is armed with a thousand-pointed shaft (ix. 83, 5; ix. 86, 40). His weapons which, like a hero, he grasps in his hand (ix. 76, 2), are sharp and terrible (ix. 61, 30), and his bow swift-darting (ix. 90, 3). He is the slayer of Vṛtra

(i. 91, 5; ix. 24, 6; ix. 25, 3; ix. 28, 3; x. 25, 9), and, like Indra, the destroyer of foes, and overthrower of cities (ix. 88, 4). In ix. 5, 9, he appears to receive the epithet of *prajāpati*, or lord of creatures. He is the creator and father of the gods (ix. 42, 4; ix. 86, 10; ix. 87, 2; ix. 109, 4), the generator of prayers, of the sky, of the earth, of Agni, of Sūrya, of Indra, and of Vishṇu (ix. 96, 5). He destroys the darkness (ix. 66, 24; i. 91, 22), lights up the gloomy nights (vi. 39, 3), and has created the sun, the great luminary common to all mankind (ix. 61, 16; ix. 97, 41; ix. 107, 7; ix. 110, 3). He stretched out the atmosphere (i. 91, 22), the heavens and the earth (viii. 48, 13). He is the upholder of the sky and the sustainer of the earth (vi. 47, 5; ix. 87, 2; ix. 89, 6; ix. 109, 6).¹ He is the king of gods and men (ix. 97, 24), elevated over all worlds like the divine sun (ix. 54, 3). All creatures are in his hand (ix. 89, 6). His laws are like those of king Varuṇa (i. 91, 3; ix. 88, 3); and he is prayed to forgive their infraction, and to be gracious as a father to a son (viii. 48, 9; x. 25, 3). He is thousand-eyed² (ix. 60, 1, 2), and beholds all worlds, and destroys the irreligious (ix. 73, 8; x. 25, 6). He is the most vigorous of the fierce, the most heroic of heroes; as a warrior he is always victorious (ix. 66, 16, 17). He acquires by conquest cows, chariots, gold, heaven, water, a thousand things (ix. 78, 4), and all things (viii. 68, 1). He is *viṣvavedas*, the possessor of all wealth (i. 91, 2). He is wise (viii. 68, 1), strong, energetic, the author of fertility (i. 91, 2), an unconquerable protector from enemies (i. 91, 21; x. 25, 7), and an upholder of life (x. 25, 4, 6). The friend of a god like him cannot perish (i. 91, 8).

Soma is associated with Agni as an object of adoration in i. 93, 1 ff. In verse 5 of that hymn those two gods are said to have placed the luminaries in the sky. In the same way Soma and Pūshan are conjoined in ii. 40, 1 ff., where various attributes and functions of a magnificent character are ascribed to them. Thus in verse 1 they are said to be the generators

¹ In ix. 98, 9, he is said to have produced the two worlds, the offspring of Manu, in the sacrifices (*yajñeshu mānavi Indur janishṭa rodasi*).

² In ix. 60, 2, and ix. 98, 1, Soma is also called *sahasra-bharnas*, having a thousand means of affording support.

of wealth, and of heaven and earth, to have been born the guardians of the whole universe, and to have been made by the gods the centre of immortality. The one has made his abode in the sky, and the other on the earth, and in the atmosphere (v. 4). The one has produced all the worlds, and the other moves onward beholding all things (v. 5). In vi. 72, and vii. 104, Soma and Indra are celebrated in company. In the first of these hymns they are said to dispel darkness, to destroy revilers, to bring the sun and the light, to prop up the sky with supports, and to have spread out mother earth. In vii. 104, their vengeance is invoked against Rākshases, Yātudhânas, and other enemies.

Hymn vi. 74, is dedicated to the honour of Soma and Rudra conjointly. The two gods, who are said to be armed with sharp weapons, are there supplicated for blessings to man and beast, for healing remedies, and for deliverance from evil and sin.

In the post-vedic age the name Soma came to be commonly applied to the moon and its regent. Even in the Rig Veda, some traces of this application seem to be discoverable. Thus in x. 85, 3 and 5, there appears to be an allusion to the double sense of the word: "When they crush the plant, he who drinks regards it as *soma*. Of him whom the priests regard as Soma (the moon?) no one drinks. 5. When they drink thee, O god, thou increasest again. Vâyu is the guardian of Soma: the month is a part (?) of the year." In the Atharva Veda the following half-verse occurs, xi. 6, 7: "May the god Soma free me, he whom they call the moon (*chandramâh*)" And in the Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa, i. 6, 4, 5; xi. 1, 3, 2; xi. 1, 4, 4, we have the words: "This king Soma, who is the moon, is the food of the gods." Similarly in xi., "the moon is soma, the food of the gods." (See also i. 6, 3, 4; and xii. 1, 1, 2). In v. 3, 3, 12, Soma is said to be the king of the Brâhmans. In the Vishṇu Purâṇa (book i. chap. 22, p. 153 of Wilson's translation, 4to.) the double character of Soma is indicated in these words: "Soma was appointed monarch of the stars and planets, of Brâhmans and of plants, of sacrifices and of penance."